

**More than an Apartheid loss: Recovering and Remembering Fairview, a  
'lost' Group Areas history**

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SLXING001

A dissertation submitted in *fulfillment* of the requirements for the award of the degree of  
Master of Arts in Environmental and Geographical Science

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This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Against the background of the Group Areas Act (1950) and the consequent forced removals this thesis recovers the history of Fairview, Port Elizabeth. I examine how this neighbourhood is remembered through oral histories, family photographs and memory maps, alongside archival, media and literary representations of the area at the time. I demonstrate that despite the forced removals of its residents and the physical destruction of a neighbourhood, Fairview continues to be actively re-imagined, in the present, in varied unpredictable ways. I draw upon earlier research about Apartheid forced removals and how the places affected are remembered by people who lived the trauma of forced eviction on racial grounds. I also draw upon my own qualitative research conducted in 2012 and 2013 to explore, the representation of place in both personal memories and archival material. Through this mix I present Fairview's history of dispossession as a result of the Group Areas Act, and highlight the violence exercised through Apartheid-era legislation. However, I also present rich family and community histories comprised of meaningful relationships that were nurtured around enduring institutions which provide insight into the 'everyday' makings of a neighbourhood and its residents. By allowing these interconnected narratives to shape the memory of Fairview I demonstrate that recovering this history is about more than remembering an Apartheid loss. This work contributes to a broader project of refiguring and expanding the archive in post-Apartheid South Africa, a body of materials, that recognise its character as being plagued by colonial and later Apartheid biases (Hamilton, Harris and Reid, 2002: 9). I focus on broadening memories of places in which Apartheid-era Group Areas removals and its destruction were imposed. To explore the multiple dimensions of these types of spaces I understand them as embodied social contexts which provide structure to inhabitants through multiple layers of community (Till, 2012: 9, 10, 2008: 108). This approach assists me to explore responses to acts of trauma like forced removals and demolitions, highlighting the various place-making activities through which people attempt to reconnect with their former neighbourhoods and lives, expressed in recollections, images and rituals which are central to how places of memory are remembered and reimagined (Till, 2003: 297). In the context of Fairview the mix of public and state archives with family repositories was central to recuperating and recovering a fuller history of Group Areas Removals and highlighting its meaningfulness in the present.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

DCD	Department of Community Development
FSA	Free Settlement Area
FSB	Free Settlement Board
LTAB	Land Tenure Advisory Board
PELCRA	Port Elizabeth Land and Community Restoration Association



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## **APPENDIX B**

### **List of interview questions**

Where in Fairview did you live?

Were you born there?

Who did you live with?

What school did you attend?

What did your parents do for a living?

What was your occupation eventually?

What was the community of Fairview like?

What did your social life in Fairview consist of?

What was the infrastructure in Fairview like?

What was the role of the churches in Fairview?

Did you play for any of the Fairview sports teams?

When did you move out of Fairview?

Can you remember how you were notified?

What was the moving process like?

Was it difficult to maintain a new home?

Are or were you involved with any of the land restitution?

If granted the opportunity would you move back to Fairview?

When you think back what were your fondest memories of living in Fairview?

Is there anything that you think I should know about Fairview that you have not mentioned yet?

## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

The segregation of racial groups into separate living areas was central to how the Apartheid state, and colonial government before, shaped ethnic, national and racial identities, a process Robinson argues was intensified with the passing of the Group Areas Act (Act No. 41 of 1950) (1993: 44). As a result established multi-racial communities, in the name of segregation, were torn apart and many families were uprooted from their homes and forcibly removed to spaces that were designated for them. In consequence, South African cities were physically rearranged into a segregated geographical landscape that continues to plague the post-Apartheid government, and to shape its pursuit of transformation and redress. A primary mechanism for implementing segregation, The Group Areas Act and its violence has been widely documented and studied, highlighting the structural violence exercised through Apartheid-era legislation and its implementation (Adler 1995, Mabin 1992, Surplus People's Project 1983, Western 1981). In this thesis I am interested in this history particularly in its expressions in personal memories of the traumatic experience communicated, for instance, through oral histories, familial images and archival materials. These forms of remembering help engage with the Act and its consequences, as well as the emotions, bound up in forced removals and memories of what the Group Areas destroyed. Often over-shadowed by 'official' records found in 'formal' archival repositories, these types of personal representations and reflections should not be relegated as less meaningful, however, should be seen as offering invaluable contributions to how this part of the Apartheid past is historicised.

Intimate representations of the past bring forth different imaginaries that provide texture to how we remember the affected neighbourhoods and the past experiences of former residents targeted by Group Areas removals. Personal memories which reveal the intimate workings of a neighbourhood and its residents enrich our understandings of place and social context in memory making (Lombard 2014, Marshall 2013, Till 2012, 2008). Narratives of these types of now 'lost' or destroyed places are still warmly embedded in various networks, friendships and community institutions. When brought into conversation with the memory of forced removals, these sources recuperate histories that are about more than the dispossession experienced. Despite the violent character of the time these memories and forms of remembering ultimately highlight that, even at the height of Apartheid brutality, life was filled with rich nuances and critical layers (O' Connell 2012, Dlamini 2009, Ndebele 1986). In this thesis I pay attention to representations of the past that range from and between the intimate and formal. Through a combination of former residents' oral histories, family photographs, memory maps as well as archival, media and literary representations, I build and recover a history, not previously documented, of Fairview, a suburb destroyed through the Group Areas Act in

the city of Port Elizabeth. Despite the forced removal of its residents and subsequent demolition, Fairview continues to be actively reimagined in the present. I explore here the loss and destruction former residents were forced to endure as they document their painful experience of Group Areas removals, a process that marks many neighbourhoods and communities throughout South African cities. This historical event, however, does not solely define memories of Fairview, as interwoven with its retelling are narratives and images that provide broader insights into this neighbourhood and its residents. Oral memories, familial pictures and a re-mapping of a beloved suburb reveal narratives of a neighbourhood in which, for instance; religion played an important role in residents' lives; social activities included visits to the bioscopes; weekends involved participating in and supporting local sports teams, and in this mix were friends, families and neighbours who were well respected and close-knit. By allowing these narratives to shape the memory of Fairview alongside the traumatic experience of forced relocation I aim to demonstrate in this thesis that recovering Fairview is about more than remembering an Apartheid loss. I aim to do this by highlighting the intimate memories and images that expose the rich personal histories, relationships of community and neighbourliness that were built and nurtured around long-standing institutions, and which continue to be rooted in this particular place, despite its destruction.

This work contributes towards a broader project of refiguring and expanding the archive in post-Apartheid South Africa, a body of materials, that recognise its character as contested and, as O'Connell suggests, to be deeply political (2012: 86). Hamilton, Harris and Reid argue that historians, for instance, have been reluctant to exclusively rely on public and more particularly government records as they continue to be filled with colonial and later Apartheid biases (2002: 9). In response to this debate, scholars as well as state and civil organisations have committed to documenting and recovering histories that have been excluded from 'formal' archival repositories. They have as well highlighted the limitations of formal institutions of memory by bringing forth other representational possibilities of the past that include oral histories (Field 2012, 2001, Bickford-Smith et al 2001, Jeppie and Soudien 1990), family albums (O'Connell 2012, Jeppie and Soudien 1990), literature (Hart and Pirie 1984), and artistic and activist interventions (Till 2012, 2008) amongst others; raising interesting questions of how these materials may be curated. By revisiting and restoring particular histories within the present context, the past continues to be reimagined through diverse forms, many which establish how the past is intimately inscribed in people's everyday lives. In sum, these works not only demonstrate that history can be represented in multiple forms, they bring into the archive ordinary and mundane narratives that have the ability to disrupt particular forms of knowledge from the past, reshaping practices of memory. As Hamilton, Harris and Reid remind us, these interventions should not be viewed as corrective measures but rather as contributing to an incomplete whole (2002: 10). This is the body of scholarship to which this thesis contributes, focused on recovering and broadening memories of places in which the Apartheid-era Group Areas Act forced removals and their

destruction were imposed. To explore the multiple dimensions of these types of spaces, I draw particularly on Till's (2012) (2008) notion of 'wounded places', and her understanding of them as embodied social contexts which provide structure to inhabitants through multiple layers of community. This approach helps explore responses to the acts of trauma like forced removals and demolitions, highlighting the various place-making activities through which people attempt to reconnect with their former neighbourhoods and lives, expressed in recollections, images and rituals which are critical to how places of memory are remembered and reimagined (Till, 2003: 297). This mix of public and state archives with family repositories is central to recuperating and recovering fuller histories of Group Areas Act removals and their meaningfulness in the present.

I was introduced to Fairview by Samuel Houlie a former resident of 29 Willow Road, Fairview. He provided an entry point and context critical to the ways in which this research has been shaped conceptually and methodologically. After residing in the neighbourhood for a number of decades, his parents were informed that their presence had become illegal because Fairview had been zoned a group area for 'whites'<sup>1</sup> only. Subsequently, when Samuel was three years old, the Houlie family together with their neighbours were forcibly removed and relocated to designated areas in the northern suburbs of Port Elizabeth, after which their homes, schools, businesses and churches were razed to the ground. This experience continues to be remembered as traumatic as Samuel emphasised that, even years after its destruction, Fairview saturates and shapes former residents' memories. He highlighted how his relatives and other former residents reminisce about their lives in Fairview through narrations and photographs about the neighbourhood.

Now a very successful businessman, Samuel expressed an interest in capturing this history before it was lost forever with the passing on of his parents' generation. For him, however, it was important that this history be represented by an archival timeline that comprised 'official' public and state records. For most of his life he has been surrounded by family, friends and former neighbour's memories, photographs, emotions and perceptions, and his wish now was to produce a 'real', in other words 'factual', representation of Fairview and its dispossession. Following readings on Group Areas histories and on the debate on the archives in South Africa his request proved not only a fantastic opportunity to do research, but also an interesting and provocative contrast to scholarly attempts to recover the 'intimate' through personal family histories in order to enrich the 'formal' archive. His priority was research that found, and drew together, 'formal' archival representations to produce a 'concrete' and 'factual' platform, on which he could place his own intimate memories, and those of his family and their former neighbours, the rich body of stories with which he had grown up. With this agenda in mind, he sought a student to complete this research, a project that that was well suited

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<sup>1</sup> In this thesis I refer to racial categories as I recognise the categorisation of people according to their skin colour as contested and problematic.

to my agenda for my Master's research. This research provided me with the space to bring Samuel's interests and a scholarly body of work on Group Areas histories together, to explore how a neighbourhood and its former residents are remembered.

My decision to use historical elements that ranged between those found in 'formal' institutions of memory and those intimately inscribed within the everyday was informed by the body of scholarship discussed above (O' Connell 2012, McEwan 2003, Hamilton, Harris and Reid 2002). These debates highlight that the past continues to be reimagined in the present and should be brought forward through a myriad of forms all which offer significant lessons for the scholarship of memory, and shape the methodological approach to this research (Field 2012, 2001, O' Connell 2012, Till 2012, 2008). Practically this has involved working with archival, media and 'formal' photographic representations, alongside oral histories, family photographs and memory maps to produce a multi-layered historical record. By engaging in multiple research visits to Port Elizabeth, I searched for, found and documented memories, images, and perceptions that range between formal and intimate representations of the past, which are critical to how this now destroyed place is reimagined and remembered. Through this mix of sources this thesis presents a nuanced interpretation of Fairview which ultimately contributes in a small way to broadening and deepening the archive of Apartheid.

In terms of the thesis' structure, chapter two presents theoretical underpinnings of works that have focused on the organisation of space into racially designated areas under Apartheid, more particularly through the implementation of the Group Areas Act. The chapter then considers literature that has paid attention to how knowledge of the past is produced and shaped in post-Apartheid South Africa. This body of scholarship includes empirical accounts that have documented intimate reflections of neighbourhoods and residents marked by the history of dispossession as a result of Group Areas removals. These materials are expanded alongside works that have in distinctive contexts examined places and people marked by difficult social pasts or presents.

Chapter three provides a rationale for approaching the research design by drawing on a mix of formal and intimate historical materials from a wide array of 'archives'. It argues that this approach allows for a nuanced representation as each contributes to shaping and providing texture to the past. Chapter three also introduces the context, Fairview in Port Elizabeth, and the former residents who played a central role in the recovery. This discussion provides the framework for the detailed empirical work that follows in Chapters four, five and six.

Chapter four presents Fairview's story of the Group Areas Act removals. In this chapter archival material, 'formal' photographic representations, media and literary documentation provides insights into the process of decision making behind the zoning and razing of Fairview as a group area for

‘whites’ only. Former residents’ memories highlight the effect this decision had on families who were now forced to leave their neighbourhood and relocate to new surroundings. In addition this chapter provides details of the redevelopment of Fairview that occurred post-removals, and briefly explores the possibility, which arose during its redevelopment, of it being opened to all races again.

Chapter five focuses on Fairview as a place and how former residents’ memories, family photographs together with archival material describe the environment. These elements demonstrate that despite it being labelled a ‘peri-urban’ neighbourhood or even a ‘slum’ like threat to neighbouring ‘white’ residents, Fairview is remembered for its beauty, tranquillity, and enduring community institutions that constituted the neighbourhood.

Chapter six provides an in depth look through former residents’ narratives and familial images at the meaningful relationships that existed between family, friends and neighbours, and how these produced a strong sense of community and neighbourliness. In this chapter Fairview is recuperated as a place wherein varyingly talented people lived respected lives.

Chapter seven brings these layered memories of Fairview together, and places this textured history into conversation with a literature on the archive of Apartheid, and how it, and more particularly Group Areas removals, are remembered. By recuperating Fairview through oral histories, family photographs and memory maps together with ‘formal’ archival representations I am able to present this neighbourhood and its residents’ history of dispossession, as well as insights into the ‘everyday’ makings of this now destroyed place. These materials present Fairview as not only a neighbourhood razed to the ground as a result of Apartheid era legislation and its destruction, but moreover as a place in which meaningful relationships of community were built around enduring institutions. These interconnected narratives challenge how we have come to understand neighbourhoods and their residents targeted by the Group Areas Act and the violence it imposed, highlighting that this history cannot be reduced to a single and simple formation (Ndebele, 1986). I demonstrate that it is important to include the voices, sounds, texts and experiences of those that would usually be over-shadowed by representations found within ‘formal’ institutions alongside them, as together they provide invaluable insights to how the Apartheid past is remembered.



## **Chapter Two**

### **Group Area Removals and Disposessions: The Challenges, Recovering and Documenting Painful Histories**

#### *Introduction*

In *The Power of Apartheid*, Robinson argues that the organisation of urban space in South African cities into racially designated areas was essential to the maintenance of the Apartheid state (1996: 1). Although forms of segregation existed long before the term Apartheid, and spatial division persists in haunting post-apartheid urban managers in their project of addressing the damages of the past (Christopher, 2005, 2001), the legislation, construction, and implementation of racially-based spatial segregation was cemented through the Apartheid regime's suite of racially driven policies (Robinson 1996, 1993, Mabin 1992, Christopher 1987, Western 1981, Baldwin 1975). The segregated spaces of Apartheid formed and maintained the racial political order, becoming a central mechanism in the state's capacity to control people classified African, 'coloured', and Indian in cities (Robinson, 1993: 44).

A rich literature on apartheid segregation has analysed the forced removals of millions of families, and has focused on documenting particular policies that led to and shaped removals, their implementation, and consequences. From 1913 to 1983, it is estimated that due to policies of spatial segregation, at least 3.9 million people experienced forced removals in South Africa (Field, 2001: 11). According to Baldwin, the logic of mass removals, implemented by legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1950 and many of its predecessors, was an attempt to apply the theory of Separate Development (1975: 218). Freund highlights two forms of mass removals and resettlement, namely urban and rural (1984: 50). Separate Development was designed to meet two dominant requirements informed by the National Party's policy (Baldwin, 1975: 218). Firstly, an ideological demand for racial separation in order to maintain the Apartheid regime's reality of white supremacy (Ibid.). Secondly, segregation also addressed an economic demand for fast growing industrial expansion with its predicted consequence of political stability (Ibid.). Here I focus on forced urban resettlement, the product of legislation ensuing from the Group Areas Act and its amendments.

The Group Areas legislation was one of the key instruments used to reinforce the ideology of Apartheid and had extensive spatial implications for residential restructuring of South African cities (Maharaj, 1992: 74). Conventionally, residential segregation during Apartheid is associated with the Group Areas Act of 1950, the ascent to power of the National Party, and the entrenchment of Apartheid (Ibid.). Western in his monograph *Outcast Cape Town* explains that the Act imposed

control throughout the Union of South Africa upon all interracial sales of property and interracial changes in occupation of properties (1981, 70). The Group Areas Board was established to plan group areas for various racial groups in settlements throughout the country, its aim being to achieve racial homogeneity within each residential zone (Ibid.). Adler states, Group Areas legislation depended on the prior identification of every citizen in terms of the Population Registration Act (Act No. 30 of 1950), and the placement of individuals within designated racial groups (1995: 9). Mabin reminds us that the 'group areas' measures that addressed 'non-white' presence within urban areas evolved from a number of earlier processes of segregatory measures and pressures (1992: 429). The practice of implementing the Act depended on the presence and growth of a number of planning bureaucracies whose origins lay outside the Act itself (Ibid.). The comprehensive segregation policies of the 1950s and thereafter therefore, cannot be viewed as a pure product of the Apartheid regime (Ibid.). The impact of the Act was profound as it gave the state dramatic new powers to remake the full physical field of urban life and in addition, it universalised the systematic mechanisms of separation which were formerly exercised only against Africans (Adler, 1995: 9). However, Adler states, the full power of the Act cannot be viewed in isolation as its power operated within an evolving thicket of Apartheid legislation (Ibid.).

In order to conform to the new vision of racial planning, local and central states would have to destroy the residential 'checkerboard' that had resulted from generations of gradual official and private segregation (Adler, 1995: 15). People living or owning property in residential areas zoned for other racial groups were forcibly moved to areas that had been racially designated, and where alternative accommodation was provided (Ibid.). It is estimated that in total approximately 600 000 people were removed in terms of the Group Areas Act (Baldwin, 1975: 216). Group Areas forced removals and dispossessions have been widely studied and documented and these accounts have highlighted the structural violence exercised through Apartheid-era legislation and its implementation by the state (Surplus People's Project 1983, The Centre for Intergroup Studies 1983, South African Institute of Race Relations 1951).

A continuing debate on the archive and its role in the Apartheid past however, has demonstrated that the histories created outside 'formal' institutions such as the state, make important contributions to how histories of dispossession are remembered. A rich and critical part of this body of work has turned to personal memories of these traumatic experiences. These forms of remembering should not be dismissed or read as not providing meaningful historical contributions, because in the past they have not been awarded the same priority given to 'official' records found in 'formal' archival institutions. In this thesis, I am interested particularly in drawing on these intimate archives that present personal memories of the traumatic experience through more ethnographic representations, which include oral histories (Field 2012, 2001, Jeppie and Soudien et al 1990), family albums (O'

Connell 2012), and artistic and activist interventions (Till 2012, 2008), amongst others. These forms of remembering are considered to not provide significant contributions to the production of historical knowledge, and as a result are usually overshadowed by the power and status of ‘official’ records found in ‘formal’ archival repositories. However, it has been demonstrated, that when considered these historical sources help engage with emotions bound up in forced removals and the affective memories of what the Group Areas forced removals destroyed, ultimately enriching and recuperating our understanding of Group Area disposessions through a focus on intimate memories and repositories. This project is one small part of a broader project to broaden and deepen the archive of Apartheid, the focus of the discussion in the body of this chapter.

### *Broadening and Deepening the Archive of Apartheid*

The character of the archive in post-apartheid South Africa has been a part of an ongoing and expanding debate evident in archival platforms and institutes, many of which are located at academic institutions (O’Connell, 2012: 85). It is acknowledged that the archive within South Africa continues to be deeply political, and while it attempts to undo the past it is in many ways forced to do this with the same tools, texts and languages that formed the Apartheid archive (ibid: 86). In South Africa historians have been cautious about relying exclusively on public and more specifically government records because of their colonial and later Apartheid biases (Hamilton, Harris, Reid, 2002: 9). Engagements with the character of the archive therefore calls for it to be refigured in order to avoid any new knowledge generated by it being “infused and layered by the script, traces and restrictions of its forebears” (O’Connell, 2012: 86). In response historians and other scholars are increasingly concerned with understanding how knowledge is produced and, more specifically, how knowledge of the past is produced (Hamilton, Harris, Reid, 2002: 9). Where previously historians ‘mined’ the archives for facts in a manner conscious of its bias, scholars are now paying greater attention to the particular process by which the record was produced and subsequently shaped, both before its entry into the archive, and increasingly as part of the archival record (Ibid.).

Hamilton et al (2002) indicate that inquiries into the archive require us to look beyond the idea of archives as physical records and critically engage with the idea of the archive as the foundation of the production of knowledge in the present, the basis for the identities of the present and for the possible imaginings of community in the future. In addition, an inquiry around archives also requires an attempt to understand the conditions and circumstances of preservation of material, and the exclusion of material from, the record, as well as attention to the relations of power underpinning such inclusions and exclusions (Ibid.). Michael Foucault (1972) emphasises that the archive is not simply an institution, but rather, the law of what can be said, the system of statements, or rules of practice,

that inform what can and cannot be said (Ibid.). O' Connell states, Jacques Derrida (2001) challenges us to consider what is excluded from the archive more so than what is included (2012: 84).

With particular reference to the South African context, Jeppie and Soudien argue for a more balanced view of the past and an understanding which takes into account the diversity of lifestyles, experiences and consciousness; the traditional sources of writing history are radically insufficient (1990: 15). In an effort to overcome some of the biases within the official record, researchers have undertaken work that recovers the voices find scant in the government files, particularly through oral interviewing (Hamilton, Harris, Reid, 2002: 10). The works that have used oral history methodology to bring forth the previously undocumented neighbourhoods affected by forced removals during Apartheid form a part of this. Oral record however is not the only alternative to public documentary archives as other forms include, literature, landscape, dance, art, family photo albums and a host of other forms that offer archival possibilities capable of releasing different kinds of information about the past, shaped by different record-keeping processes (Ibid.). It is noted too that the archive is not just the concern of the researcher and government; it is part of the everyday activity of identity formation and maintenance by ordinary people (ibid: 11). Community archives, such as the South African History Archive and the Gay and Lesbian Archives, bring forward the concerns of marginal archives and their possibilities of engagement with the archival mainstream (Ibid.). They also raise questions about the inclusion in the archive of documents and objects not usually placed in archival custody (Ibid.). Marginal archives preserve histories and present voices that are excluded from the mainstream repositories, but are themselves constructed no less than mainstream archives and involve processes of both preservation and exclusion (Ibid.).

O' Connell suggests that by looking towards the body, experiences, images and narratives of those recently deemed inferior the archive is able to be refigured and reimagined as a "constantly shifting text, at times admittedly elusive and ambiguous, its uncertainties however a constant reminder that there are multiple pasts, presences and points of view" (2012: 88). The challenge is to acknowledge the everyday practices of the oppressed that have been traditionally marginalised and excluded from mainstream archives, and that these attempts matter as they assist in helping to think through ideas of democracy, freedom and equality (ibid, 89). These endeavours are collaboratively part of an effort to widen and shift the meaning of the term archive and to consider it a part of a number of institutions such as libraries, museums, local records and special collections all which play a role in creating particular visions of society (Hamilton, Harris and Reid, 2002: 15). These interventions also bring forth images, sounds and experiences that challenge particular forms of knowledge including knowledge about the past and as O' Connell states "they argue for different narratives to be told" (2012: 105). Hamilton et al state that "alternative archives require alternative visions" and that a commitment to aim to engage with the new realities that are presented is much needed in a South

Africa that seeks to imagine itself and its past in ways not constrained by the colonial and apartheid pasts (2002: 17). However, we are reminded that we should be wary of the idea that these corrective interventions are ‘filling the gaps’ in an archive as the very idea of an apparent ‘gap’ suggests the archive is an incomplete whole and should rather be stressed as a sliver of the past (ibid: 10).

This is the body of scholarship to which this thesis contributes, as I focus on recovering and broadening memories of places in which Apartheid-era forced removals and its destruction were imposed. Here I draw particularly on Till’s (2012) (2008) notion of ‘wounded places’, defined as spaces that have difficult social pasts and are embodied social contexts. This includes neighbourhoods that have experienced state-perpetuated violence through displacement and destruction (2008: 108). Till explains that places provide structure to their inhabitants through multiple layers of community<sup>2</sup>, and when individuals or social groups are forced to leave their neighbourhoods that are eventually destroyed it is a traumatic experience (2012: 9, 10). In response to the trauma they have undergone people perform various place-making activities that result in residents attempting to reconnect with their former neighbourhoods and lives. Through recollections, images and rituals people make places of memory (Till, 2003: 297) and, place making happens when people mark social spaces as sites that are haunted by their past where they can return, make contact with their loss, contain unwanted presences, or confront past injustices (Till 2005: 8). Till argues that people spend a lot of energy making place in order to give their past an arrangement, order and logic and to situate themselves in relation to it (ibid, 14). In addition, by mapping their past through place people give shape to their desire to remain connected to that which is no longer metaphysically present, but which still plays an important role in their contemporary lives (Ibid.). Places of memory are therefore, made by individuals or social groups to embody felt absences, fears and desires that haunt contemporary life (ibid, 9). By exploring how these places are made and represented, access is gained to the meaning people create of who they are and where in the world they are situated, and in addition how they communicate feelings of attachment and belonging (ibid, 11). Till argues that we need to pay

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<sup>2</sup> Till (2012), following Fullilove’s (2004) description, acknowledges that place has a central function in an individual’s emotional and social eco-system, and can be understood as functioning as a kind of social protective shell (2012: 9). Till (2008) argues that place becomes a part of us through the intimate relationships individuals and groups have with them. She highlights Klienenberg’s (2002) exploration of social ecologies of place by stating that ecological characteristics provide structure for individuals and social groups, and may include places of worship, schools, marketplaces and parks; while social institutions that are located throughout neighbourhoods offer regular activities and rhythms for local and social communities (2012: 10, 2008: 108). Morphological qualities are the material and social environments that nurture inhabitants and offer support through familiarity, routine and aesthetically comfortable spaces, and a sense of belonging and security (Ibid.). Together these social ecologies of place include everyday routines, social institutions, material landscapes, symbolic systems of meaning and identity and shared memories (Ibid.).

particular attention to the ways residents' portray or speak about their experiences of 'wounded places' that are revealed through forms of place-making (2012: 10).

Following this, I recuperate a history of Fairview through representations that include documents found within 'formal' institutions, such as the archive, alongside recollections, images and memories that are critical to how places of memory are remembered and reimagined. As a result I am able to present both a neighbourhood's experience of structural violence through Group Areas removals, and at the same time, move beyond and reveal the 'everyday' workings through which an intimate relationship between a neighbourhood and its residents was developed. These interconnected narratives enrich our understandings of these now destroyed places, and when brought into conversation with the archive of Apartheid, ultimately broaden and deepen how a part of our past is remembered.

#### *Documenting experiences of dispossession*

Oral histories, family photographs, literature, and artistic and activist interventions have allowed an important body of work to study and document personal recollections of neighbourhoods and the past experiences of former residents that were targeted by Group Areas removals. Through the above mentioned forms, these have been able to present not only intimate experiences of the traumatic event, but at the same time, also provide insights into the now destroyed neighbourhoods. Accounts have examined how neighbourhoods in the present context are remade as Hart asserts that despite the physical destruction of the networks and structures of these places, people through their memories, artefacts and rituals keep a unique image and identity of their old neighbourhoods and communities intact (1990: 123). These places continue to embody people's feelings, emotions and perceptions, and are represented in interesting ways. Documenting experiences of dispossession as a result of forced relocation demonstrates that not only were people forcibly removed from their residential spaces, but affective networks and enduring institutions that continue to remain a part of former residents' lives and memories were also dismantled and destroyed.

Historical projects within Cape Town during the 1980s and 1990s discovered the relevance of oral history methodology which is argued to have "generated fresh insights on issues, such as migrancy, sharecropping, labour tenancy, urban squatter movements and removals, household struggles, youth subcultures and political movements" (Bickford-Smith et al, 2001: 5). Researchers were able to explore neighbourhoods and issues that for the most part have been ignored in written records, and the oral accounts had the ability to build on what was already discovered about Cape Town history (ibid, 12). A powerful theme of research that employed oral history methodologies involved the documentation of the Group Areas removals (ibid, 12). The Cape Town History Project which later became The Western Cape Oral History Project and then the Centre for Popular Memory based at the

University of Cape Town generated path-breaking research on the social history of District Six (ibid, 5). After the destruction of District Six, these projects were able to capture how former residents continued to remember their former neighbourhood through oral narrations and were able to produce a picture of life in District Six as poor, but largely happy and united (ibid: 12). Bickford-Smith et al state that people's experiences of place provide an oppositional discourse to perceptions that depicted the destroyed areas as crime ridden slums which threatened and then justified their destruction by Apartheid authorities (2001: 11). In contrast these representations highlight the existence of strong, united community ties that had been destroyed by the Group Areas Act, in addition are more than nostalgic reflections as they revealed intertwined lengthy residence, social networks, and the proximity of old and familiar institutions and organisations that gave a material form to warmly remembered senses of community (Ibid.). This was echoed in a number of other studies or written recollections of other communities destroyed by the Group Areas Act (Field 2001, Rasool 2000, Fortune 1996, Mesthrie 1996, Keeton, 1987). The introduction of oral history to Cape Town historiography reveals a great deal about working-class identities and attitudes and also provides information on gendered domestic arrangements, leisure activities, and material culture that existed within these neighbourhoods (ibid, 12). These recollections not only present intimate experiences of dispossession but also provide snapshots of communities that previously have not been researched offering a 'thick description' of their popular culture (Ibid.). Oral history evidence is rarely used exclusively and has been used within historical research together with a number of written and visual sources (ibid, 15). Field and Swanson state that researchers have used oral, written, visual as well as performative texts to understand people's memories, and through the use of these sources gained access to how and why people believe what they believe, think what they think and, most importantly, act in the ways they do (2007: 9).

*The Struggle for District Six: Past and Present*, a notable publication produced from Western Cape Oral History Project collections, depicts a sample of oral memories of people from District Six together with a collection of visual representations of the built and eventually destroyed place, and presents a vivid sense of the material culture and experiences of the former residents (Jeppie and Soudien; 1990: 15). On their own, these forms of remembering make compelling statements about the District Six community and popular consciousness (Ibid.). Other contributions to this publication explore everyday experiences of former residents, the role of an annual Carnival within local culture, language as a central element in the creation of community, and the reality of the removals of former residents (ibid, 15, 16). O' Connell using images found within the family albums of former residents of District Six explores the meaning imbued within the destroyed neighbourhood (2012: 15); and Hart and Pirie in the *Sight and Soul of Sophiatown* demonstrate that novels, autobiographies, short stories and essays written by several prominent South African authors do the same for Sophiatown. Dismantled and cleared on the grounds of slum clearance the above-mentioned forms of remembering

are argued to highlight the human aspects of Sophiatown better than any other record (1984: 38). Neighbourhoods affected by forced relocation under Apartheid have also been remembered and portrayed beyond the bounds of literature and have been the subject of many plays, music, poems and the subject of artistic and activist interventions. According to Hall these attempts use cultural property to assert a connection to these neighbourhoods' histories through forms of documenting, discovering, remembering, mourning and returning (2004: 302). These documentations of dispossession by exploring various forms of place-making that extend beyond the archive not only provide descriptions that highlight the structural violence that these places were forced to undergo, but also offer glimpses into the lives and institutions that filled these places. They present the 'everyday' and intimate makings of these neighbourhoods and their residents, allowing them to produce their own histories within the 'grand' context of Apartheid and more particularly in relation Group Areas forced removals.

It is this body of work which my research particularly draws from and hopes to expand as I present the recovery of Fairview through oral histories, family photographs and memory maps, alongside archival and media representations of the neighbourhood at the time. These materials assist in a nuanced exploration as they not only document the traumatic experience of dispossession that former residents forcibly endured, but present how life in Fairview was intimately experienced, which ultimately enriches how it is reimaged.

#### *Recovering the intimate – alternative discourses that recuperate*

Intimate experiences of life under Apartheid have been explored by documentations through personal memories. As a result those with a particular focus on how places targeted by Group Areas removals are remembered, not only present accounts of dispossession but bring forth different imaginaries that provide nuanced understandings of the affected neighbourhoods and past experiences of former residents. Personal reflections reveal the intimate workings of a neighbourhood and its residents as they foreground the 'everyday' which present narratives of place that were and still are warmly embedded with meaningful relationships that were nurtured through enduring community institutions. O' Connell labels these the 'interiority' of the lives of those who were harshly affected by Apartheid, and demonstrates that when brought into conversation with the memory of forced removals, recuperates histories from only being about dispossession; ultimately enriching and enhancing our historical interpretations of them (2012: 15).

Till, with a particular focus on creative practices and politics within cities which have been historically marked by structural violence and exclusion (reference to Bogotá, Cape Town, Berlin, Minneapolis and Roanoke), argues that a deeper appreciation for the lived realities of inhabitants of cities would assist in the consideration of more appropriate and sustainable urban transformations



(2012: 4). She explores the lived realities of former residents of Bogotá, Colombia and more particularly the neighbourhood of El Cartucho, which as a result of “economic restructuring, suburbanization, refugee movements resulting from the rise of drug cartel-paramilitary warfare, and other reasons” by late the 1980s was labelled a dangerous place known for its informal economies, sex work and drug trade (Till, 2012: 4). The mayor of Bogotá from 1998 to 2001 labelled the neighbourhood “a symbol of chaos and of government impotence”, and part of his successful campaign included the promise to reclaim the space in the interest of the public (Ibid.). As a result from 2000 to 2004 tens of thousands of residents were displaced, their neighbourhood completely destroyed, and in its place a new ‘Park of the Third Millennium’ was built in an attempt to sterilise the space (Ibid.). In response to their forced relocation and the destruction of their neighbourhood, former residents of El Cartucho engaged in a creative practice of place-making through memory-work that included a performance that presented videos and sounds of a place they once called home (ibid: 3). This performance brought forth the lived realities of inhabitants that highlighted how they cared and continue to do so for their former neighbourhood, and in addition how a place ‘wounded’ by structural violence once cared for its residents (ibid: 4). Former residents memory-work challenged the labelling of their former neighbourhood as ‘dangerous’, and through place-making presented their intimate experiences. These allowed them to transform memories of violence to shared stories of relevance, which assisted in critical self-reflection through the reimagining of a community (ibid: 4, 12). In addition, the memory-work and creative practices of former residents challenged the understanding of displaced people as invisible, as through their stories and performances they were able to document their presence and highlight that the urban renewal project did not take them into consideration (ibid: 4). By presenting their lived realities they were able to assert basic individual, collective, and temporal claims to having rights to their city, and demonstrated how they used, moved through and made their neighbourhood, and that a place now razed to the ground was once inhabited (Ibid.).

Till argues rather than cast away these emotions, feelings and memories as subjective or not meaningful they should be taken seriously as they demonstrate the significance of place in societies that have experienced extreme forms of violence, shifting the taken-for-granted perception of place to include other forms of spatial imaginaries (2012: 10, 11). This exploration of place highlights that ‘wounded’ neighbourhoods, like Fairview in which the Group Areas Act and its destruction were imposed, can be remembered beyond the structural violence experienced. As demonstrated above the intimate workings of these neighbourhoods expose other imaginaries that often disrupt dominant understandings of these places, and reveal what former residents remember as central experiences.

Lombard by exploring the lived experiences of residents within informal settlements in Mexico acknowledges that intimate moments expressed through forms of place-making enables renewed understandings of these places (2014: 47). Demonstrated by highlighting the ‘ordinary’ moments of

these informal settlements through the recovery of physical, cultural and social forms of place-making that involve acts of land acquisition and building; activities of schooling and religious worship; and through architecture and place naming, these places were allowed to be defined by their residents and not categories that label it as 'informal', 'rural' and or 'illegal' (ibid: 46). Lombard argues "emphasising residents' stories of place means reimagining urban informal settlements as 'ordinary places', as complex, diverse and creative" (Lombard, 2014: 46). Similarly Marshall (2013) by recovering the everyday experiences of Palestinian children, in a West Bank refugee camp, seeks how we might understand the present political moment through the lives of children and how children play a role in building alternative political futures. The everyday experiences of children communicated through narratives of beauty transformed the discourse of trauma and the aesthetic of suffering that have come to dominate representations of Palestinian childhood and the Palestinian struggle in general (Marshall 2013: 53). Marshall argues that within their everyday spatial practices and imaginings, Palestinian refugee children perform aesthetics of beauty that disrupts the ethics of trauma and suffering put forward by international humanitarian aid organisations and development agencies (ibid: 53, 67). Children took political subjectivity based on trauma and suffering into beautiful directions that for them were performed through everyday acts of care between neighbours and within the home, which were also mediated through wider religious and national imaginings (ibid: 67). Collectively these cases demonstrate, through very distinct contexts, that recovering the intimate and including a focus on the 'everyday', provides insights into discourses that deepen, expand and challenge the way we understand places and people who are usually marked by their past dispossession and or the ongoing trauma and suffering that they endure.

In the South African context, Ndebele comments on presenting the 'ordinary' and with a focus on the history of 'black' South African literature states that it has largely been about the representation of the spectacle (1986: 143). He further states that "the highly organised spectacle of the political wrestling match of the South African formation", has marked the experience of Apartheid with "random massive pass raids; mass shootings and killings; mass economic exploitation...; the mass removals of people; the spate of draconian laws passed with the spectacle of parliamentary promulgations" (Ndebele, 1986: 143). For Ndebele the spectacular prefers exteriority to interiority which results in the obliteration of details where as a focus on the ordinary "is sobering rationality; it is the forcing attention on necessary detail" (ibid: 149, 152). The rediscovery of the ordinary as Ndebele refers to it, in the context of 'black' South African literature is important because it highlights that the South African context at that time was complex and all embracing; and cannot be reduced to a single, simple formation (156). Dlamini contributes to this argument by shedding light on ordinary understandings of the South African past, and explains that life under Apartheid was not always experienced through its spectacular form. He demonstrates that peoples' reflections are not always marked by doom and gloom and are sometimes remembered with fondness (2009: 13). Dlamini argues that nostalgic

reflections of the past need to be taken seriously and be viewed as one possible way through which we can understand the past as well as contemporary South Africa (2009: 12). Field through his exploration of life stories from residents who had endured a microcosm of social and community life under Apartheid in Windermere, notes that the experience of remembering the past can be an emotionally meaningful task on a personal level and can also provide clues to interpreting social and popular memory (2001: 130). He acknowledges that although grand historical markers, such as the National Party coming into power and the Group Areas removals mean something to the history of Apartheid and its historians as well as the public at large, this cannot always be assumed as true (Ibid.). Instead it should be people's own periodization of their own lives, and how they invest feelings and meaning to particular events that should be of importance (Ibid.). It would be a fruitless exercise to force people's memories into true/false binary because by exploring people's personal accounts and how they are expressed through the broader lenses of social and cultural patterns we reveal more about people constructing and maintaining their own and others' identities (ibid, 131).

Returning to the context of Group Areas removals, O' Connell in her exploration of the 'interiority' of lives of former residents of District Six through images found within former residents' family albums, states that she found it difficult to find an image that did hint at the oppressive context or its traces or roots, under which they resided (2012: 71). She indicates that the family photographs seemed to cower and appear tenuously fragile when viewed against the spectacular backdrop of Apartheid (ibid: 72). They stood in contrast to the dramatic documentary images that depict the forced removals process of District Six and instead the images depicted the little moments of life (ibid: 76). They presented images of the ordinary and of ordinary moments captured through the miniature of daily life, that presented and asserted identities at odds with what Apartheid dictated they should be (ibid: 46, 77). O' Connell notes that images found within her family album depict "the posed ballet class portrait, my first day at school, my brother as a new born, and my sister with roller skates – [which] all speak of a desire to establish a certain way of life; a sense of belonging to something other than a group deemed second-class" (ibid: 44). These intimate moments depicted in family albums reveal that neighbourhoods in which the forced removals of the Group Areas Act were imposed, for instance Fairview, are filled with much more than the memory of Apartheid and how it intervened in former residents' lives.

Drawing on this literature, I acknowledge that 'wounded' places and people are filled with 'ordinary' experiences, often considered to not make significant contributions, to disrupting and enriching how we would normally understand them. It is therefore important to consider the memories, images and forms of place-making that reveal the lived realities, life stories and aesthetics of beauty that recuperate narratives which a focus on the 'grand' experience would deny. Following this, I present both Fairview's story of Group Areas removals together with the 'ordinary' and 'everyday' moments

brought forth by former residents' oral histories, family photographs and memory maps, alongside archival and media representations. When collectively presented these interconnected narratives present a fuller historical interpretation.

### *Conclusion*

The body of literature which have captured the structural violence of the Apartheid state by focusing on forced removals throughout South African cities demonstrates that these places continue to be reimagined within the present context years after their destruction. Firstly, it allows victims to document their unique stories of their traumatic experiences, and secondly interconnected with this, they also expose why these places are so fondly remembered. Through various representations they bring forth family and community histories that go beyond remembering dispossession and highlight that these places encompassed familiar and long-lasting community institutions as well as meaningful relationships and networks amongst family, friends and neighbours. They present the intimate workings and everyday experiences of a neighbourhood and its residents, and as works particularly focussed on places and people marked by difficult social contexts have demonstrated; by allowing these memories to shape how these places are remembered we expose different and new imaginaries that enrich our understandings of them. Subsequently they highlight the importance of including representations that are usually dismissed because they are considered to be filled with subjectivities, bias and, mundane and ordinary narratives. Building on this I therefore attempt to portray the recovery of Fairview through a myriad of forms that range from documents found within formal archives to the stories and images that continue to live within former residents. By doing so I am able to present both the 'grand' story of Apartheid through the experience of Group Areas removals together with Fairview's intimate memories that contribute to providing a nuanced account of how a part of the Apartheid past is remembered.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Recovering and Remembering Fairview: Methodology**

#### *Introduction*

In recent times we have witnessed a growing critical reflection of how knowledge of the past is produced, and this has resulted in a refiguring of the character of the archive (Stoler, 2002: 85). With particular reference to the South African context ongoing conversations post-Apartheid have acknowledged that the archive continues to be plagued with bias and in response there has been a turn away from viewing it as site of retrieval, and a move towards considering it a part of a number of institutions, that each have their role to play in curating the past. These interventions, Stoler reminds us, do not signal a rejection of colonial, and later Apartheid, archives but rather a more sustained engagement with them (Ibid.). The recovery of Fairview acknowledges and contributes to this expanding debate as the historical record that has been collated within this incorporates documents found within ‘formal’ archival repositories together with personal archival materials. The aim of this is to examine the role ‘traditional’ institutions of memory play, alongside other custodians of the past, in an attempt to recover and remember Fairview.

In this thesis I present a historical record of Fairview before, during and just after the Group Areas removals through a mixture of state produced archival artefacts and sources that include oral histories, family photographs, memory maps as well as media representations. With these I am able to recover an intimate archive that presents both Fairview’s story within the broader context of the Group Areas removals as well as, in stark contrast to the former, memories that reveal the ‘everyday’ experiences of its residents during and after the removals from Fairview and during its demolition. Together these interconnected narratives fulfil the memory of Fairview as more than its dispossession; as this mix provides a multi-layered understanding of the institutions and relationships embedded within this particular neighbourhood. When brought into conversation with how a part of the Apartheid past is remembered this intimate archive provides significant insights and enables a nuanced story to be told emphasising the value in including the texts, sounds, images and experiences of former residents alongside ‘formal’ archival representations.

#### *From ‘formal’ archival repositories to living memories*

Stoler’s suggestion of a critical approach to the colonial archives demands a commitment to the notion of reading them “against their grain” (2002: 91). This has witnessed a rise in attempts to write popular histories “from the bottom up”, histories of resistance that might locate human agency in small

gestures of refusal and silence among the colonized (Stoler, 2002: 91). Minkley and Rasool state that in the South African context social historians have viewed their work as characterized by an attempt to “give voice” to the experience of the previously marginal groups and to recover the agency of ordinary people that have been excluded from the ‘official’ records (1998: 90). In this framework, archival documents have been understood as counterweights to ethnography, not the site of it (2002: 91). However, Stoler argues that colonial authority, and the practices that sustained it, infiltrated more diverse sites than those pursuing the “romance of resistance” once imagined (Ibid.). For instance, appreciating how much the personal was political has revamped the scope of our archival frames (ibid, 92). As Stoler notes that “housekeeping manuals, childrearing handbooks and medical guidelines share space with classified state papers, court proceedings and commissions as defining texts in colonialism’s cultures of documentation” (2002: 92). Following these observations, colonial histories are therefore recognised to increasingly dwell on the seams of archived and non-archived attributions, and as a result colonial subsumptions and assumptions are redefined on a broader terrain (Ibid.).

Stoler and Strassler argue that in the past decade scholars of colonial studies have turned their attention to representations of colonial pasts and the subaltern voices submerged within them (2000: 38). This has included a rereading of archives with the help of oral histories, photography, engravings or documentary art in order to comment on colonial narratives (Stoler, 2002: 89). Remembering colonial pasts through forms of ‘counter-histories’ is recognised as necessary as contemporary political demands are fuelled by accusations of colonial categories and claims (Stoler and Strassler, 2000: 38). Attending to memory work through a myriad of forms invites the ‘colonial memory’ to be reworked while making the colonial a subject, rather than an assumed category of analysis, and this requires a letting go of received wisdoms and cherished assumptions about the past (Ibid.). In addition, attention to memory-work in this manner demands a space for unrehearsed recollections of those convinced that their ‘tellings’ are not what makes up ‘real’ history (ibid: 39). Strassler and Stoler argue that these concrete recollections are often viewed as presenting seemingly uneventful routines and habits, but are important because they are how the texture of the past makes its way to the present (Ibid.). Following these conversations, in this thesis, I identify the importance of working with the archive and what it has to offer, alongside other historical elements which in collaboration with the former contain the potential to enrich and provide nuance to a representation of a part of the Apartheid past.

In South African historiography, an oral history methodology has contributed to differentiating this body of knowledge in its attempts to make sure the experiences of people who have been victims of Apartheid do not get erased or assimilated in practices of grandiose history writing (Field, 2001: 199). Field explains that oral histories are a living heritage inside people and an important contribution to

the production of knowledge about the past that should be acknowledged (2001: 120). However, in the South African context oral history projects tend to utilise certain assumptions that could potentially lead to a thinking that this methodology is an exception, limiting the capacity to hear and take seriously international debates and concepts (Field, 2008: 176). Firstly, many South African oral historians view oral history as a supplement to historical research that primarily draws on written sources and occasionally drags in interviewees to provide colour to the serious business of history (2008: 176). Secondly, archivists continue to define the role of oral history as ‘filling the gaps of the archive’ and as a result this appears as if oral histories will never play a serious role in contradicting and or influencing the primacy of written accounts (Ibid.). Thirdly, qualitative researchers across academic disciplines still motivate that oral history is an attempt to provide a ‘voice to the voiceless’ as if ‘ordinary’ people do not speak-out, and as if their stories must be recovered from history (Ibid.). Lastly, many researchers in the post-apartheid period have defined the need for oral history to collect authentic meanings as it is viewed as having access to truths buried beneath histories of colonial and apartheid oppression (ibid: 177). Against this background, Field argues that we need to begin to view oral histories as research ‘documents’ that are produced through dialogues about memory, and that are created from ‘traces’ marked in people’s minds and bodies (Ibid.). He notes that the conditions of possibility that allow for the application of oral history projects and the negotiation of ‘dialogues of memory’ are fundamentally open-ended; and we need to keep in mind that oral histories are not recovered and instead are created through intersubjective conversations (Ibid.). Therefore, oral history, should not be viewed as the golden alternative to popular representations of history, but it does offer significant insights into different and intersecting discourses of memory, which should be central to how we conceptualise South African historiography (Ibid.).

Field argues that by taking dialogues about memory seriously, we can better historical knowledge by widening the sites of knowledge that extend beyond the ‘academy’ and the ‘archive’ (2008: 180). In the context of oral history the interviewee provides knowledge and interchanges that teach various institutions about their past and present (ibid: 181, 182). Much like the documents stored within the archive, oral histories too go through a process of selection and exclusion (Ibid.). In an intersubjective dialogue interviewees consider what can and cannot be said, therefore allowing space for the expression of the intangible and personal, within historical writing (Ibid.). In addition, within this interviewing space there are opportunities for the interviewee to contest and subvert the boundaries of historical knowledge, and to present competing or different versions of the past and or present (Ibid.). Field argues that these personal dynamics demand and deserve a place in the incomplete collection of history as they create, interpret, publish and broadcast stories that are usually marginalised from public spaces and have the potential to affirm individuals and potentially regenerate communities (ibid: 184).

Oral histories and the reflections they produce are a central part to the recovery of Fairview however, I recognise that like ‘formal’ institutions of memory they are only one representational form of the past, and scholars in their attempts to diversify this body of knowledge have brought forth other possibilities. These include literature, landscape, dance and artistic and activist representations each offering different kinds of information about the past and shaped by their own documenting processes (Hamilton, Harris and Reid, 2002: 10). Central to this thesis and the Fairview context, are images that depict the ‘interiority’ of Apartheid portrayed by family photographs which are argued to foreground the ‘everyday’ moments of former residents and their families, friends and neighbours. With particular reference to District Six, O’ Connell demonstrates, that family albums are significant to history and the theory of oppression because they command a rethinking of the archive of Apartheid as the images they present destabilises its dominant and established narratives (2012: 102).

In addition, presented alongside these and oral histories, I have drawn on memories of Fairview that were mapped onto a historical geographical image of the neighbourhood. In this process former residents’ were provided the opportunity to transform a central symbol of Apartheid into an articulation of histories that were rendered invisible in the regime’s planning (McEachern, 1998: 506). McEachern argues, moreover, that a map representation is a physical thing, an official text which baldly lays down topographical features (Ibid.). It is empty, devoid of life, able to be manipulated in the interests of those in authority (Ibid.). On the basis of such a representation and armed with an official narrative authorities could organise the systematic destruction of many neighbourhoods, like District Six and Fairview, street by street (Ibid.). With that in mind these maps are powerful ground on which former residents can re-engage with apartheid’s interventions into their lives (Ibid.). In applying this method former residents use the same representation and through their articulation of memory, emotion and perspective provide a totally different meaning, one which McEachern argues resists the apartheid regime’s judgement, while at the same time criticising its acts of destruction (Ibid.).

In sum, in this thesis I aim to recover and remember Fairview through sources that range from ‘formal’ archival repositories, to memories that continue to remain a part of former residents’ lives, and which are presented through oral histories, family photographs and memory maps. By doing so aim to present a nuanced exploration of a neighbourhood and its former residents targeted by Apartheid Group Areas legislation and its destructive consequences, as its memory is constituted beyond the dispossession and destruction experienced. As a result I broaden the restraints on how knowledge of a part of the Apartheid past is represented, bringing forth other historical elements that make invaluable contributions. In the discussion that follows, I explain my research journey, and introduce the key informants, former Fairview residents and their stories.



### *My research journey (2012 – 2013)*

As discussed earlier in this thesis my entry point into Fairview was through a former resident, Samuel Houlie, who resided in the neighbourhood up until he was three years old. His parents on the other hand lived in Fairview for most of their lives until it was zoned a group area for ‘whites’ after which they were notified to leave. Samuel explained that his family, friends and former neighbours’ memories continues to be shaped by Fairview, and these are communicated through narratives and photographs about the neighbourhood. He expressed an interest in capturing this history before it was lost with the passing on of his parents’ generation. However, Samuel emphasised research that searched and drew together, ‘formal’ archival representations to produce a ‘factual’ platform on which he could place his own intimate memories, together with those of his family, friends and former neighbours. This request stood in contrast to both works on Group Areas histories and debates concerned with the archive in South Africa, which sought to recuperate the intimate through personal family histories in order to enrich ‘formal’ representations. This research therefore provided me the space to bring Samuel’s interests and these scholarly bodies in conversation with each other, to explore how a neighbourhood and its former residents are remembered.

My research journey began when I interviewed Samuel’s parents Mr and Mrs Houlie during their visit to Cape Town from Port Elizabeth in October 2012. Here for the first time I was able to ask questions about Fairview and the type of neighbourhood it was, as well as what the experience of being forcibly removed entailed. Sadly a month after my interview, Mr Houlie passed away. In December of that same year I had the honour of attending his memorial service held in Port Elizabeth at a church, The Word of Faith Christian Centre, built on what was then Fairview’s sports grounds. At this event, numerous family members, friends and former neighbours who had resided in Fairview gathered, and shared stories about Mr and Mrs Houlie’s lives in Fairview, which highlighted the important role this period had in people’s memories about him. Being at this event gave me the opportunity to listen carefully to these accounts, and to meet other former residents of Fairview whom, with Samuel’s assistance, I was able to arrange meetings with on my return to Port Elizabeth for my first formal research trip.

On my second visit to Port Elizabeth I conducted fourteen interviews with former residents that comprised of extended and immediate family members of the Houlie family. Hereafter a snowball method of sampling was adopted to include fellow neighbours who were former members of the Fairview Moravian Church. In addition, with assistance from the Port Elizabeth Land and Community

Restoration Association (PELCRA)<sup>3</sup>, I managed to connect to former residents who through the organisation had taken part in the land restitution process by submitting claims. Through their oral histories these informants provided the opportunity to retrospectively gage at Fairview and the relationships, experiences and institutions it embodied. While listening to their personal memories I was interested in how they spoke about and described their lives within their beloved neighbourhood. Each story provided insights into the 'everyday' makings of this place of memory. These recollections were often not expressed in chronological order, but instead revealed what former residents considered to be central to their lives at the time. On a few occasions interviewees' oral memories were accompanied by family photographs sourced from either plastic sleeves or boxes that were stored away in cupboards. These gave me the opportunity to visually engage with what former residents had expressed through their narratives. These materials are included in this thesis, presented alongside oral and archival reflections. After this six week visit in March 2013, I returned home and thematically analysed the interviews I had conducted. I searched for similarities within former residents' narratives and paid attention to how these memories were referred to or remembered. The themes that emerged is what I use to outline Fairview within this thesis. Following the interviews I recognised that these materials needed to be consolidated with archival, media and more 'formal' photographic representations.

On my third visit in June 2013 I was able to find and collate from the Port Elizabeth Municipal Archives and Port Elizabeth Library, material that broadened and deepened what was presented through personal memories and photographs. I had searched through the Port Elizabeth and Walmer Municipality's documents in an attempt to find information that particularly spoke to the relationship between the Group Areas Act and Fairview. I was not able to find direct links between the legislation and the neighbourhood it targeted, but instead came across documents that contributed to an intimate archive of Fairview. With these 'formal' archival representations what I had heard and saw from former residents now become 'official'.

In addition to the archival materials I was able to source historical aerial photographs from the National Geo Spatial Information in Mowbray Cape Town. These images of Fairview ranged from 1966 to 1980 and visually depicted the neighbourhood prior to its Group Area declaration as 'white' and the physical destruction the neighbourhood had endured over the years, after its residents were forcibly removed. I decided to enlarge the oldest image of Fairview in which the old neighbourhood

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<sup>3</sup> The Port Elizabeth Land and Community Restoration Association (PELCRA) was formed in 1993 and is an organisation that facilitated people of Port Elizabeth in their aim of obtaining restitution through The Restitution of Land Rights Act (Beyers, 2012: 830). PELCRA grouped individual claimants in Port Elizabeth for the purpose of collectively developing alternative land allocations rather than restoring original properties to their former owners or settling claims with financial compensation (ibid: 827).

was best photographically preserved, clearly depicting streets, churches, bioscopes and family homes. On this third trip I asked interviewees to use the photograph to recollect and remember Fairview, a source which provided a different entry into their memories. One that focused on the place and its spaces, rather than on the chronologies of events as with residents, I traced the places most central to their histories. Collectively, these representations produced a multi-layered and an intimate historical representation of Fairview and the past experiences of its former residents. Through this process I have come to learn that these representations are important to capture as they are not only precarious, but make invaluable contributions to how a part of the Apartheid past is remembered.

### *Introducing the people of Fairview*

The primary data collected on my first formal research trip was built from interviews with individuals and families who were forcibly removed from Fairview. These oral histories proved critical, framing the Fairview story in the intimate details of family histories and in remembering community. For instance, I interviewed Samuel's parents, Mr Nicholas and Mrs Doreen Houlie, who were born and raised in Willow Road, Fairview, where they had met each other, eventually married, and started a family of their own. Mrs Houlie stated that Fairview and particularly Willow Road, remains a very significant place to her as this was where she had experienced imported life stages:

“...because that is where I was educated...., that is where I found the Lord in fact he found me, and that is where I met my husband; and that's where our children grew up all of them even Samuel was born while we were in Willow Road. All of our children were born there, we moved only when Samuel was... about three years old we moved to the other areas” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

Mrs Houlie (then Koeries) explained that her family moved into 172 Willow Road, Fairview when she was in grade three. Her family comprised of her father, her step mother and siblings. She described that they had moved into a rented house that was owned by their then neighbours:

“I was alone because I don't know where my other siblings were but they were around; but I helped with the packing and I moved in alone with my step mother and my dad and, I had this room with a window facing the other side...It was so beautiful and I was alone in this big bedroom” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

The late Mr Houlie resided at the very other end of Willow Road at number 29 with his family on a big plot which was owned by his father. He described its size and stated “you could build nine houses on that” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012). At Mr Houlie's memorial service a family member during their eulogy laughingly described how Mr Houlie would walk and cycle from 29 Willow Road

all the way to number 172 to visit Mrs Houlie while they were courting. Mrs Houlie's younger sister, Mrs Jantjes, too mentioned "when the eldest son Nick...started courting my sister he came by bicycle all the way" (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013). In 1955 Mr and Mrs Houlie married at the Fairview Union Congregational Church after which they then settled at 29 Willow Road:

"Before we got married they extended the house and put on a brick house at the front so we had a huge yard and our children never played in the street, because our children and everyone from the area would come. That's where we lived" (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

After I had interviewed his parents Samuel Houlie recommended that I speak to his aunt Mrs Edith Jantjes (then Koeries) who now resides in Cape Town. In February 2013 I interviewed Mrs Jantjes at her home in Penlyn Estate. She explained that Mrs Houlie is her older sister, and that their family had moved from a suburb called Korsten to Willow Road, Fairview, in 1941 after their biological mother sadly passed away in 1939:

"We must've moved to Fairview round about 1941 from Korsten because my mother died 1939. I was not at school yet, I was five and [in] 1940 I turned six and we started school, I started school in Fairview....when I [was] just over six. I think my father waited to enrol me in Fairview school once we lived there" (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).

Both sisters are pictured in the image (Figure 1) standing alongside each another in front of their family home in Willow Road.

Mrs Jantjes described that her father was a "multi-faceted man" and had chosen a house in Willow Road between a Chinese family, Forlee, who was too their landowner, and a "half-Chinese family" called Kingson (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013). She explained that her father was very attracted to the house because it had a huge tennis court in the backyard:

"There was a house in Willow Road at number 172 between Chinese and half-Chinese, Forlee and Kingson. Now Forlee had built this house at number 172 you won't believe it, with what in the backyard? ....A tennis court, and my father's decision was made he's going to hire that house. He rented it, 172, because out of the kitchen there was just a patch...There was a fowl run because we kept fowls and there was a little garden, and then we had lots of fruit trees at [the] side and there was the huge tennis court" (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).



**Figure 1:** Mrs Houlie and Jantjes (then Koeries) in front of their home, 172 Willow Road (EJ, 1954).

Mrs Jantjes spoke fondly of her father and explained that he had passed on many of his talents to her and her siblings:

“My father had many talents. He was a musician, he played the violin by ear...My father could sing; both him and mother, and my eldest brother they were excellent tennis players. He taught, I mean my sister and brother *sjoë*...my father taught all of us....When I trained teachers I remembered a lot from his teaching in the home....My father's other passion was books he introduced us to books at a very early age” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).

Her father had taught all her siblings how to play tennis which Mrs Jantjes explained she was not very good at, however, Mrs Houlie and their brother were tennis champions. Mrs Jantjes describes them as follows:

“They were tops. People couldn't beat them honestly because my family had tennis players and my father, my mother the whole lot of them, but I'm the only one that couldn't play, but she[Mrs Houlie]...was brilliant”(EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).

Both Mrs Houlie and Mrs Jantjes completed a good portion of their early schooling within Fairview after which they attended high school in a surrounding suburb. After completing their basic education

they attended a teaching training college, and eventually returned as teachers to the school they had attended as children in Fairview.

Mr and Mrs Houlie and Mrs Jantjes provided me with a list of names filled with family, friends and neighbours of Fairview that reside in Port Elizabeth, and who they thought would be ideal for me to interview. This included Mr James Forlee, Mrs Houlie and Jantjes' former neighbour, who I had met on my first formal research trip in April 2013. Mr Forlee with his family resided at 174 Willow Road which, together with number 172, his father had owned. Mrs Jantjes explained that the Forlee family "had about five children, four sons and only one daughter, Olive. We [Olive and herself] use to play tennis on a Sunday afternoon when nobody was around because the two of us played equally [as] badly" (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013). James Forlee was one of the sons who in 1946 was born in Fairview, and resided there until his family was asked to leave. He described residing in Fairview as the "best times of our lives" (JF, interview: 3 April 2013). The Forlee family was big and well-known as they resided on numerous plots within Fairview as well as owned and managed multiple businesses within the neighbourhood. Mr Forlee's mother and father had two shops within Willow Road and he explained that his grandmother donated a plot to the St Finbar's Fairview Catholic Church. I had spoken to Mr Forlee at a restaurant, called *Memories* that he owned and managed, and which is situated in Circular Drive, a few hundred metres from the present day Fairview and now empty Willow Road. Mr Forlee explained that:

"Actually St Finbar's was here. My grandmother donated the plot for them. They go to church there many, many years and after they move they got big and they moved...into...Elm Road. It was further down Willow Road by one, two or three streets down they got another church there. St Finbar's that is name of the church" (JF, interview: 3 April 2013).

Mr Forlee had indicated that his prominent memories of residing in Fairview comprised of "helping the family with business" as many generations of the Forlee family had established a number of very successful businesses within the neighbourhood (JF, interview: 3 April 2013).

On this research trip I was too able to connect with both immediate and extended family members of Mr Houlie who had also resided in Willow Road, Fairview, either on his father's plot or on neighbouring ones. One of his sisters Ms Rose Houlie resided at 25 Willow Road. She stated that she was born in Fairview and remained there until the Group Areas Act declared it a 'white' area:

"I was born in Fairview so I stayed there until the Group Areas. We had to go when the Group Areas came in. That was 1968 they declared Fairview a 'white' area, after Verwoerd died. He died in September '68 and early that year they declared [it] a 'white' area" (RH, interview: 24 April 2013).

Ms Rose Houlie now resides in Gelvan Park a suburb situated in the northern areas of Port Elizabeth. During Apartheid the Northern Areas was built and designated for people who were classified 'coloured' however, those who could move to either Betholsdorp, Uitenhage or other towns outside of Port Elizabeth, did so. Ms Rose Houlie explained that her family decided to move to Betholsdorp:

"My brother had a plot there [Betholsdorp] and he build a house there" (RH, interview: 24 April 2013).

In Gelvan Park, Ms Rose Houlie resided in close proximity to Elizabeth Human (then Houlie). Mrs Human's father was Mr Houlie and Ms Rose Houlie's brother who with his family resided at 55 Willow Road. Mrs Human was one of thirteen children which included her younger brother Winston Houlie. Winston stated that within their household they were fifteen people and explained that the beauty of living back then was that his father could provide for them irrespective of the size of their family:

"My father was an ordinary factory worker and my mom was a domestic worker. First she was in the factory and then afterwards she went to work for the domestic environment as a servant... Despite the circumstances, despite the hard economic difficulties that we've endured those years...they made sure that we were all educated. Yes some of us didn't go into a career but we've got something to fall back with you know...that's the nice part" (WH, interview: 23 April 2013).

Winston had mentioned that within Fairview their parents played a prominent role in the Moravian Church and both Mrs Human and Winston were and remain members of the same congregation. They too attended the Moravian school in Fairview for their early years of education. A large portion of the Moravian Church community that resided in Fairview still maintain close contact, and now attend the Moravian church situated in a suburb called Arcadia. When Fairview was declared a 'white' area and residents were notified that they would have to move, the Reverend of the Moravian church, at the time, played a role in making sure the members of the congregation were moved to the surrounding areas in close proximity to the new location of the church. Winston explained:

"Our local minister those years that was Reverend Schmitt, he was very instrumental with the moving because he was 'white'. He had some sort of access to the local council and he made it so nice when we moved. All our Moravians, all the Fairview people came to one area and that's for example, people here in Acadia,...here in the surrounding area they came from Fairview as a group and it wasn't like people from a other area that also moved in, it was only the Fairview people. ... We were staying fortunately on the other side in Salesoneville, and again a lot of Fairview people were staying next to each other as neighbours and things like

that, and that's...how he instrumentally got involved when forced removals took place. He like took his Moravians together right on one place and that's why the church is here today and most of the congregants are actually in the surrounding area again thanks to him; because if we had to go according to what the...then government had to say we would have been all over the show you know" (WH, interview: 23 April 2013).

Since Mrs Human and Winston are both members of the Moravian church in Arcadia they were able to introduce me with the help of their current reverend, Reverend Erasmus, to other former residents of Fairview. These included Mr Martin Titus and Mrs Caroline Windvogel who too resided in Willow Road. Mr Titus resided with his parents in Willow Road for 21 years nearby to what people called the '*Groen Yard*':

"Where I stayed they call it the '*Groen Yard*', the Green Yards, because we also had our old people they also like planting. We had guava trees and then planted all trees and we planted flowers and vegetables. ...Next door there was a place we call the Barracks that was because there was two sets of houses semi-detached, but then the people they were staying on like one, two, three, four families...Then we call it the Barracks but those people were alright no...problem" (MT, interview: 24 April 2013).

Mrs Windvogel resided at 44 Willow Road on what was called *Ghost Corner* situated within walking distance from the Moravian Church. She explained that her parents rented a plot from Mr Loonat who was also a resident of Willow Road (CW, interview: 24 April 2013). Mrs Windvogel stated her father had worked on the railway and her mother in a jam factory (Ibid.). She attended the Moravian school and recalled singing in the choir (Ibid.). Mrs Windvogel explained that her father was a very active member in the Moravian church however, he was a strict figure:

"My father was ... he was a very strict person in church. He must sit all people right in the church, children must sit in front and all the others there in the middle. Nobody must allow the children to sit at the back they must come and sit in front...They must make the *bunks* [benches] full from the front so that the people that come late can sit at the back. No running up and down everybody must be in the church" (CW, interview: 24 April 2013).

In addition, I spoke to former residents who resided in the other streets of Fairview. These included Mr Gelderboom who resided at 23 Maple Road with his grandparents. He indicated that his grandparents had two sons and seven daughters most of them having worked in factories in Port Elizabeth. Mr Gelderboom had met his wife in Fairview who resided a few streets from his home, and she was also a member of the Moravian Church. He related that his wedding took place in Central Port Elizabeth because at the time of his marriage, in 1975, the Moravian Church building had already



been demolished by the Apartheid government (G, interview: 23 April 2013). I also spoke to Mrs Moria Kivedo and her nephew Mr Brain Kivedo. Mrs Kivedo had initially resided in Oak Road with her parents and then Pine Road after she had married. She was the eldest of three sisters and two brothers, and her father was employed as a bus driver and then a mechanic. Her father had worked for both bus companies that operated within Fairview and which were run by the Forlee and Huckle families, both whom resided in Fairview. Mrs Kivedo stated that her social life strongly revolved around church activities as her parents did not allowed her to attend any social functions (MK, interview: 24 April 2013). Mr Kivedo, her nephew, resided in Mimosa Road with his family for 18 years until the Group Areas Act was implemented. He described:

“I’m Brian Kivedo born and bred in Fairview. I stayed there for eighteen years up to 1970 when the Group Areas Act declared Fairview a ‘white’ only place. It was a very sad piece of history for us when we had to uproot, had to leave our beloved suburb Fairview” ... “I stayed in Mimosa Road you will see there when you go down William Moffet there is a Mimosa Road there. I think one of the big companies is there on the corner of Mimosa Road and then Willow Road was our main road... Willow Road, Pine Road and Circular Drive separating Fairview from Lorraine. The bus number those days for Fairview was bus number 22... we really enjoyed... our Fairview, we enjoyed Fairview” (BK, interview: 23 April 2013).

Former residents gave me an opportunity to, alongside them, reimagine their old neighbourhood through their oral histories. These personal memories revealed, as Mr Kivedo emphasised in the quote above, how they enjoyed Fairview, and provided insights into what was remembered as central to their past experiences during that period of time. After I returned home and analysed these stories I recognised that they needed to be consolidated with more ‘formal’ archival representations, as Samuel requested.

### *Recovering Fairview*

The archival material that informs this work was sourced from the Port Elizabeth Municipal Archives and the Port Elizabeth Municipal Library on my second formal research trip in June 2013. Here I was hoping to find either public or state records that documented the decision process behind declaring Fairview a ‘white’ group area, and documents that would have been able to provide me with a chronological account of the forced removal of its residents and eventual demolition. These materials however, were hard to find as I searched through the Port Elizabeth and Walmer Municipality’s files. Instead, what I came across were documents that spoke to the intimate stories of community and neighbourhood celebrated in the oral histories. For instance, I had found letters of communication between former residents of Fairview and the Walmer Council of the time. They documented and

gave me the opportunity to gauge the community issues former residents had faced and their attempts to have them addressed by the then local council.

A recurring presence within these letters and other ‘official’ documents was a group of residents who formed the Fairview Ratepayers’ Association. From viewing their annual reports, meeting minutes, personal notes and letters it seemed that over the years the Association acted as a medium between residents and the Walmer Council, and ensured that Fairview had access to particular resources<sup>4</sup>. These included access to electricity when it became available, good quality roads, schools and other recreational facilities. In addition, the Association made sure that issues within Fairview were relayed and eventually addressed by the Council. It was therefore reflected that the Association had made a continuous attempt to make Fairview a safe and pleasant neighbourhood to reside in. The efforts of the Association was noted when after a hiatus, members of the previous committee, Mr R.D. Rasmus and a Mr G.B. Roman, indicated that they “felt that owing to the inactivity of the Ratepayers’ Association many civic rights and privileges were being denied to the Fairview residents” (Fairview Ratepayers’ Association, Annual Report: 1944). The records from these various sources were critical in reconstructing the realities of the neighbourhood, elaborated on in Chapter five. In addition, they help give texture to the types of organising and community building that were ongoing. These representations of Fairview and its residents are important to record as they stand in contrast to the municipality’s claim that Fairview, and places like it, were slums. They also question the complaints and organising by people in surrounding ‘white’ areas that viewed Fairview as a threat.

The Port Elizabeth Municipal Library also contributed to building Fairview’s historical record. Herein I found newspaper articles that documented what had happened to Fairview post removals during the demolition phase. These provided insight into the redevelopment plans that the municipality and private developers had for the space. In contrast to the media representations, I also found a register that listed building applications from former residents made between 1949 and 1968. This record described the homemaking practices of former residents as they improved and added on their homes. These documents therefore gave me an idea of how Fairview was used as a residential space prior to the Group Areas removals and what was envisioned for the neighbourhood. Collectively, the records found both within the municipal archives and library provided ‘official’ proof of a neighbourhood and its residents, and in addition to the oral histories, presented a narrative that extended beyond the Apartheid state enforced structural violence that was experienced through forced removals.

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<sup>4</sup> These documents were produced during 1937 and 1971.

## *Remapping Fairview*

The historical aerial photographs sourced from the National Geo-Spatial Information in Cape Town proved a valuable source to visualize Fairview in the past, and the consequence of its destruction. These photographs visually depict the physical erasing of important buildings and homes over a period of 14 years. A rich way of reflecting on the past and present, I experimented with using these photographs in a second set of interviews conducted in June 2013, returning to individuals whose oral histories I had recorded in my first research trip earlier in March 2013. By examining the historical aerial photographs of Fairview I asked former residents to produce what I termed ‘memory maps’; a process that involved mapping memories of Fairview on tracing paper, on top of the enlarged photograph of Fairview taken in 1966.

This exercise follows a similar reconstruction of District Six which, on a much larger scale, former residents recorded their homes and important communal places on a map that forms part of the District Six Museum in Cape Town. Laid out in the centre of the museum floor is a huge map decorated with poems and artwork; and marked by former residents are their homes, schools, bioscopes, markets and bus stops (McEachern, 1998: 506). Visibly dominant amongst the various exhibitions, the map is used by education officers to talk about the history and development of the District, to explain different areas and to point out certain landmarks (ibid, 505). McEachern acknowledges that the map is the one exhibition within the museum that former District Six residents were able to turn into something living (ibid, 506). Following this, the aerial photograph seemed an interesting and additional way to reflect on the past and to learn about Fairview as a multi-layered place and site of community.

The process was not as straight forward as a methodology, as former residents whom I re-interviewed to do this mapping were initially confused by the image as they did not recognise their former neighbourhood from the aerial view. In each case I spent time to re-orientate them by indicating street names. This generated interesting conversations through which I could watch former residents engage with each other in an attempt to remember where particular buildings were situated, and where they and their fellow neighbours resided. This process allowed the narratives and images of Fairview revealed by former residents’ oral memories and family photographs to be represented in a different form. During the process former residents firstly choose to mark their homes, streets and their surrounding families and neighbours from which they then branched out and marked similar ‘points of interest’. These included the sports fields, the schools, the bioscopes and the various community shops all which came to produce a reimagined neighbourhood.

These markers came to represent the Fairview former residents remember residing in, that family photographs depicted and which was sometimes described within the ‘official’ archival documents. Correspondingly to how former residents reimagined District Six, Fairview came to be represented by particular fragments (McEachern, 1998: 508). McEachern explains that within the process the maps are transformed from a graphic representation into something that now encompasses experiences, emotions and relationships represented by a mosaic of specific parts all which were a part of former residents’ lives (Ibid.). The collective remembered whole is constructed from overlapping mosaics, and this process makes the neighbourhoods more accessible while focussing the identities of former residents as specific parts to represent the whole (Ibid.). In addition, we witness a foreshortening, a breaking of continuity and a selecting of parts which enlarge and make the chosen parts even more significant (Ibid.). They become central devices in the performance of popular narratives of Fairview and District Six (ibid: 509). McEachern states by marking their names, old homes, places of worship and entertainment, former residents wrote themselves into the map; and implicated it in the intention to resist Apartheid’s history, by providing the opportunity for people to “re-possess the history of an area as a place where people lived, loved and struggled, and to attempt to take back our right to signpost our lives with those things we hold dear” (McEachern, 1998: 506). Through this, events and relationships in the memory merged into places as they were identified or re-found cartographically (ibid: 509). In the Fairview context, this process highlighted the multiple dimensions of these spaces, and reinforced that place is an embodied social context filled with multiple layers of community which remain central to how they are remembered.

### *Conclusion*

The methodology adopted comprised of sixteen oral history interviews conducted in Port Elizabeth in March 2013 amongst former residents of Fairview. The interviews were conducted amongst extended family and friends of Samuel Houlie after which a snowball method of sampling was adopted and included former residents of Fairview who were members of the Fairview Moravian Church. In addition, I interviewed, with assistance from PELCRA, former residents who through the organisation had taken part in the land restitution process. These interviews were sometimes accompanied by family photographs, which provided the opportunity to visually engage with former residents’ narratives. After I thematically analysed the interviews I returned to Port Elizabeth In June 2013 and continued to recover Fairview with the help of ‘official’ documents found in the municipal archives, and in addition memory maps produced by former residents. These collectively contributed to building a representation of the neighbourhood Fairview is remembered as. In addition, this mix of historical sources also filled this reimagined neighbourhood with rich family histories, multi-faceted relationships and long-standing familiar institutions. In the following chapters I proceed to expand on

this narrative and present it together with the dispossession experienced as a result of the Apartheid legislated Group Areas Act.

## **Chapter Four**

### **“I was the one that switched off the lights ...because we were all told to move out”: The Fairview story of Group Areas removals**

“The forced removals, you had no choice because of the Apartheid system that's why...so we were forced to move” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

#### *Introduction*

The Group Areas Act and consequent forced removals forms a part of Fairview's history and is an event remembered by former residents as traumatic. This process has come to mark many neighbourhoods throughout South African cities. Forced removals led to the dismantling of a close-knit, well-established community, after which most of the physical material within the neighbourhood was demolished. In this chapter archival material, 'formal' photographic representations, media and literary documentation sources are used to present the zoning of Fairview as a group area for 'whites' only, a decision which subsequently denied that all 'non-white' residents could continue to live there. Former residents' memories highlight the effect this decision had on families who were now forced to leave their homes in which they resided for many generations, and who were relocated to new surroundings far from their places of employment, worship and entertainment. In addition this chapter also provides details of the redevelopment of Fairview that occurred post-removals, and briefly explores the possibility, which arose during its redevelopment, of it being opened to all races again.

#### *Fairview declared for 'whites' only*

In mid-1952 a Joint Planning Committee was established, consisting of representatives of the Port Elizabeth and its adjacent Walmer Municipality, The Port Elizabeth Divisional Council, and representatives of the central state ministries (Adler, 1995: 15). Together these representatives developed the first proposals for group areas with a view to coordinate planning for the entire metropolitan area, after which it forwarded proposals to the Land Tenure Advisory Board (LTAB) renamed the Group Areas Board under section 2(1) of the Group Areas Act No. 36 of 1966 (ibid; Davies, 1971: 133). The Board's main purpose was to hear evidence that would assist them to map out group areas zones which would form the basis of proclaimed group areas to follow (Agherdien and Hendricks, 1997: 82). As a result of local segregation, especially in the proliferation of racially restrictive covenants in new housing developments, the Committee felt that many areas in the city could be declared group areas immediately, however there were a number of 'problem' areas (Ibid.).

Though 'coloureds' had been segregated in Municipal housing schemes these were scattered like islands throughout mostly 'white' residential areas, therefore no single zone of 'coloured' residence existed in the city (Ibid.). To accommodate these areas the Council deviated from the principles embodied in the Act and followed by the LTAB, and sought to create wide zones of single-race with sufficient land for expansion, separated by broad buffer strips (Ibid.).

In contrast, the Council's initial proposals minimized the disruption and tremendous expense which would ensue from moving people from the many scattered areas and rehousing them in a single zone (Adler, 1995: 15). First its definition of 'coloured' included those categorised as Indian, Malay and Chinese even though the Population Registration Act defined them as separate groups, and the Group Areas Act stipulated that each group be accommodated in a separate area (Ibid.). Furthermore, it declared group areas wherever large concentration of 'coloureds' were already living whereas the Act demanded that they be relocated (Ibid.). In addition, the plan established 'free areas' in zones where large numbers of 'coloureds' and Indian business people owned shops (Ibid.). Finally in an effort to soften the blows on present citizens the proposals envisioned segregation as a long-term process, and granted families sixty years to move if they lived in an area specified for a different group (Ibid.). Ultimately the LTAB overrode all deviations and in 1960 submitted its recommendations to the Minister of Interior (Ibid.). The scattered islands of 'coloured' residence, including South End, Fairview, Lea Place, Stuart Townships and pockets of North End and Korsten, were declared part of the 'white' group areas, though evictions were initially deferred for the time being (Ibid.). Proposals for 'free areas' for Indian and 'coloured' traders were rejected, and all were to be moved to the boarder of the 'coloured' group area (Ibid.). With minor exceptions the recommendations of the Group Areas Board served as a basis for the final group areas proclamation in Port Elizabeth on 30 May 1961, eight years after proposals were submitted to the LTAB (Ibid.). Notwithstanding, the local officials' rationalizations that cooperation with the government would permit a fairer application of the Act, their proposals were uniformly rejected in favour of a pure vision of segregation dictated from above (Ibid.).

Mr Clive Felix, director of the Port Elizabeth Land and Community Restoration Association (PELCRA), announced that Fairview, and other inner city suburbs alike, were targeted by the Group Areas Act due to their racially heterogeneous population with a large majority being 'non-white' (CF, interview: 23 March 2013). He further explained that these neighbourhoods were situated in close proximity to neighbourhoods which comprised of 'white' residents only (Ibid.). Together, the above mentioned factors were in opposition to the aim of the Apartheid state, whose goal through the Group Areas legislation was to produce specific places for each racial group as far as ownership, residency and business was concerned. In addition, according to Agherdien et al, the targeted areas were often described as slums as they had deteriorated over the years (1997: 79). 'White' residents within the

adjacent areas readily expressed that the continued influx of 'non-white' residents close by would eventually constitute a threat to their way of life (Ibid.). Mrs Houlie explained that she believes the close proximity of Fairview to 'white' surrounding neighbourhoods eventually became an issue for the state:

“As I told you where....the road ends and you go into 17th Avenue that joins up what they call Circular Drive now, on the other side there was a 'white' area that mostly borders on Cape Road you see, and you had to walk through the valley....it's part of Fairview. People walked through there that didn't travel by bus. They would walk through there to town, to places where they wanted to go, and then the 'whites' living there....complained.... [and about] the noise of the sports fields, that's where the sports fields were. So you know like 'whites' complain they must get rid of this. Funny hey I remember that....very well. They complained because look this is what our people did, they came from all avenues they streamed down pass our road onto the sports fields” (NH and DH, interview 1 October 2012).

Agherdien et al explain that the decaying appearance of these neighbourhoods most likely occurred after the promulgation of the Group Areas Act in 1951, as landlords and owners become aware that they might be moved (1997: 79). With this possibility, residents were afraid to commit to renovations and expensive maintenance (Ibid.). It was thus, many suggest, the threat of the government action which led to the decay of these neighbourhoods and not the communities themselves (Ibid.). On the other hand, most tenants, land-lords and owners had over a period of many years built, added-on and renovated their homes on a regular basis (Ibid.). The building register at the Port Elizabeth Municipal Library, for instance, documented that former residents of Fairview had continuously improved their homes throughout the years as renovations were recorded up until 1968, and included additions, new dwellings and outbuildings to their already existing homes (Walmer Municipality, Building Plan Register: 1949-1968).

Fairview's position as an area zoned for 'white' residents was not always the suggestion. Davies indicates that Fairview had given the Reference Planning Committee, which was responsible for conducting fact finding investigations in urban areas from which race zoning proposals were formally invited, some difficulty during the proposal phase of group area zoning (1971: 113, 126). The reasons for this were due to its size and the overwhelming proportion of 'coloured' residents who comprised of over two-thirds of its population (Ibid.). Initially the Committee was of the opinion that due to the large concentration of 'coloured' inhabitants, it had no option but to propose the whole area as a group area for 'coloureds' (Ibid.). However, the Committee added that the position of the area was unfortunate with regards to the planning proposals of the metropolitan area as a whole, because it gave rise to a separation of areas proposed for the 'coloured' population group (Ibid.). Another



problem was the availability of transport facilities for 'coloured' residents in Fairview (Ibid.). Although Fairview was at the time part of the Walmer Municipality located outside the Port Elizabeth Municipal Area, a large number of 'coloured' residents worked in the main industrial areas of Port Elizabeth (Ibid.). This meant that the desired Apartheid principle that members of one population group should not traverse the areas of another population in the course of their daily movements, would not have been possible under these circumstances (Ibid.). The Committee did seriously consider the position of various 'non-white' groups in the city like Fairview, but it was ultimately overruled by the LTAB in view of the provisions and requirements of the Act, and the already established substantial 'coloured' area to the north-west of the city centre (ibid, 127).

Proposals made by the Joint Planning Committee incorporated proposals by the Walmer Municipality for the area under its jurisdiction (Davies, 1971: 128). These too suggested that Fairview be zoned a 'coloured' group area and stated that provision of industrial areas adjoining the neighbourhood should be made (Ibid.). It was proposed that if 'domestic' industries were developed in the regions indicated it would provide places of employment for 'coloured' and 'black' residents of Walmer (Ibid.). This would ensure that the 'non-white' residents would not have to traverse the 'white' zoned parts of the city on their journey to work (Ibid.). It was not clear what would have been allowed as a 'domestic' industry, but whatever type of industry, it would not have been suitable with the general nature of most of the Walmer Municipality which Davies identified as a "middle to higher income white residential area" (Davies, 1971: 128). The demarcation of areas in the north-west corners of Fairview which were proposed for Malay, Indian and Chinese residents was described as unrealistic (Ibid.). No substantial buffer between the groups and between them and the 'coloured' population was identified, and it was clear that, in time, invasion and succession would have eliminated these small pockets (Ibid.). Eventually, the proposal was withdrawn by the Walmer Municipality but retained by the Joint Town Planning Committee (Ibid.). The Fairview Ratepayers' Association also submitted a proposal indicating that the whole area of Fairview should be zoned a 'coloured' group area (ibid, 130). This was one of a number of proposals received from smaller bodies and private persons (ibid, 129). They only referred to specific areas of the city and were not proposals for group areas planning as such, however they gave an indication of public opinion (Ibid.).

The Group Areas Board became responsible for all further investigations in Port Elizabeth, and as discussed above, its final recommendations in respect of group areas in the City were submitted to the Minister of Interior in 1960 (Davies, 1971: 133). These recommendations finally culminated in Proclamation 144 and 145 of 30 May 1960, under which the first group areas, future group areas and other areas were declared for Port Elizabeth (Ibid.). Since the Group Areas Board relied heavily on the Reference and Planning Committee's proposals in the compilation of its recommendations, it was expected that there would be considerable concurrence between the two (Ibid.). Although, with the

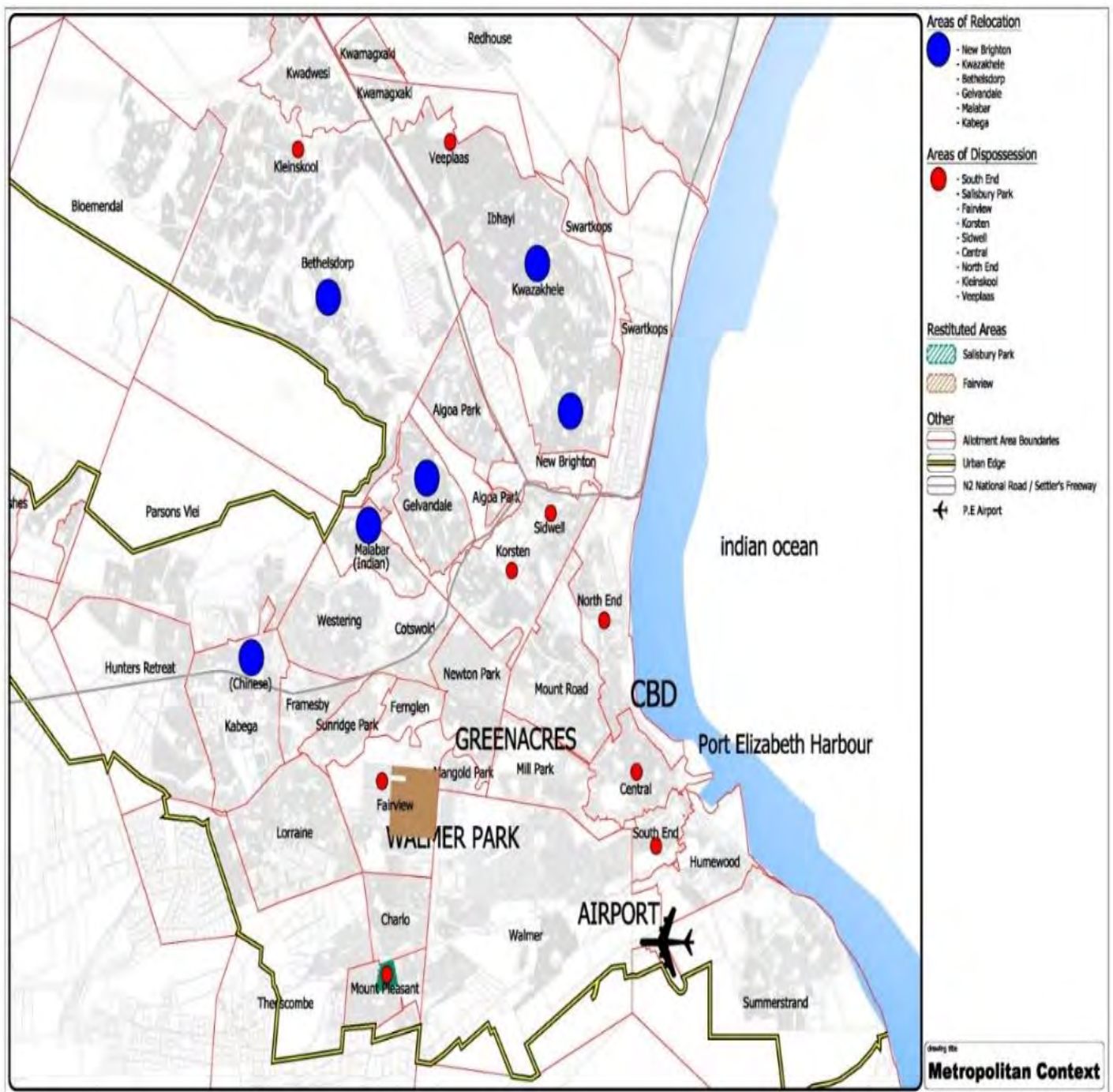
case in the overall view of the recommendations for Port Elizabeth, it is clear that there were some aspects of the Committee's proposals with which the Board did not agree (Ibid.). The most significant points of disagreements concerned the areas of Fairview and South End (Ibid.). Contrary to the proposal of the Committee and other proposals, the Board recommended that Fairview be zoned as a future group areas for 'whites' (Ibid.). Subsequently, the area was divided into three sub-districts in order to provide for a phased evacuation of the 'non-white' population (Ibid.). The proposals that Fairview be zoned a 'coloured' group area did not have much chance (Ibid.). Although, zoned for 'white' residents, the widely predicted 'wholesale removal' of 'non-white' people did not materialise as, at this stage as there was nowhere for them to be moved (Ibid.).

The above description presents an overview of the administrative processes of the Group Areas Act planning in Port Elizabeth, and its eventual implementation in the context of Fairview. The image (Figure 2) illustrates that other affected areas (marked in red) in Port Elizabeth from which people were forcibly removed prior to and as a result of the Group Areas Act included South End, Sidwell, Korsten, Salisbury Park, Central Port Elizabeth, North End, Veeplaas and Kleinskool. The areas to which people were relocated to (marked in blue) included Gelvandale, situated in the northern areas, Betholsdorp, Malabar which was designated for Indians, Kabega Park designated for the Chinese population and New Brighton and Kwazekele to which a large majority of 'black' residents were moved prior to the Group Areas Act, under the auspices of slum clearance legislation (Beyers, 2012: 830). These accounts however, do not recognise the emotional impact this process had on residents of Port Elizabeth, which with particular reference to Fairview, I focus on in detail in the following section.

#### *Making sense of Group Areas removals: Residents' reflections*

Mrs Jantjes explained that in 1948 the South African political context changed, and this affected their lives. Her father and other Fairview residents categorised as 'coloured' could no longer vote, and with other restrictions that now became legislated (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013). She explained that she never complained about the situation and even accepted it, but the one aspect she could not understand was the Group Areas Act. She described this as follows:

“In 1948 things changed, he [her father] said they no longer could vote and now shortly after that you know of course we....started teaching and we accepted this change we didn't even complain about it. And the only thing I couldn't understand was when this new government said 'whites' and 'blacks' and 'coloureds' can't live together. I mean you have a 'white' grandmother, how must someone understand that. You can't live away from your grandmother” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).



**Figure 2:** An illustration of the areas of dispossession and relocation within Port Elizabeth (Beyers, 2012: 829).

Former residents' memories about how and when they were informed that Fairview had been zoned a 'white' group area were not easily recalled. Ms Rose Houlie explained that she remembered Fairview was declared a 'white' area in the late 1960s (RH, interview: 24 April 2013). Mrs Kivedo informed that she cannot remember how they had been notified, but stated that she is almost certain the news must have been published in the local papers (MK, interview: 24 April 2013). Mr Houlie who remembered more explained:

"I got a form...from the Group Areas. There was someone that actually presented the Group Areas. He'll come and tell...you can move to a house, we've got a house somewhere there in the Northern Areas and then you fill in a form" (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

Mr and Mrs Human were also not able to clearly remember how they were informed that the residents of Fairview were ordered to move. However, they recalled a man named Mr Ferreira who at the time worked for the local government and accepted bribes from residents who wanted to make sure they were able secure a new house within the process. They indicated that some residents were frightened when their fellow neighbours began to move out of Fairview. Mr Human explained:

"Mr Ferreira" ... part of the government, he was instrumental in, you know, getting people out, giving them new homes and so forth. And some people were so eager...because everybody's moving, now I also want to move and they were prepared to bribe...this gentleman to get a house" (MK, interview: 24 April 2013).

Furthermore, former residents explained that the majority of families moved from Fairview between 1968 and 1973 as Mr Human explained that "the great removals took place round about '69 to '73" (MK, interview: 24 April 2013). In the city of Port Elizabeth residents categorised 'coloured' were designated the suburbs of the northern areas to which a large number of Fairview residents were moved to and continue to reside therein. By April 1975, plans to redevelop racially mixed Fairview into a 'white' neighbourhood was already gaining momentum (Eastern Province Herald, 22 April 1975). At the time the Department of Community Development (DCD), which had the pre-emptive right to the land under the removal programme, owned about half the land in Fairview and was still in the process of buying more from the 'non-white' residents who were being moved out (Ibid.). The vast Fairview area had housed 800 'white' residents in 1970 (Ibid.). It was a well located section of land that was frozen by the DCD after being zoned a 'white' group area (Ibid.). By 1975, Fairview looked shoddy and neglected while still housing a few hundred 'coloured' residents in shack iron dwellings some hidden behind the remains of brick houses, while others occupied more conventional homes which they were forced to sell (Ibid.). It was noted that despite the ongoing removals neighbourhood activities went on unchanged (Ibid.). One school, Fairview Primary, had over flowed

to a building of a church mission, roads criss-crossing Fairview area were mostly gravel surfaced and a few shops still remained (Ibid.).

For all former residents who had to leave Fairview described the removals as a traumatic experience. If not personally, because they were too young to grasp what was happening, then certainly for their parents. Winston Houlie explained:

“Well we were all as children, we were innocent. We didn't understand what was the dynamics behind it. We were excited because we're going to move from corrugated house to a cement house, we were also excited that we were going to like travel from there to here. We were innocent as children” (WH, interview: 23 April 2013).

However, when Winston reflects on how his parents felt about having to leave Fairview he stated:

“Well there was a lot of pain and heart sore because we grew up in that environment... We had to establish ourselves in this area, in terms of the finance we couldn't really afford to stay in these houses, because in Fairview you use to pay like a small due, and now all of sudden you have to pay something to the local council” (WH, interview: 23 April 2013).

Mrs Houlie expressed that even though she did not keep up to date with politics within South Africa she was still affected by the decision to zone Fairview a group area for ‘whites’ only. She explained:

“They did away with everything really ... moved the people out. I remember when this happened in my heart, although I was not into politics I never bothered about things like that, I felt why don't they give Fairview rather a facelift, you know, improve this area instead of moving us.... It was a good there, it could've become a very, very prosperous area but now well that's what the government did and there was nothing we could do about it” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

Mr Houlie added that he could not understand why residents had to be moved since they were well-respected people. He explained:

“And when you think of what has come out of Fairview, you see the well-educated people... you think look what comes out of this place and now they take it away” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

Mrs Kivedo moved from Fairview in August 1972 to the suburb of Salsoneville, situated in the Northern Areas, and described the moving process as hard. She recalled that her husband was adamant about not wanting to leave:

“It was hard, it was hard, as I said my husband didn't want to move, he didn't want to move... You know....the day when we moved people from ‘Joburg’ [Johannesburg], English people, ‘*nie Boere nie*’ [not Afrikaners] ... they bought the house, while we were in the house they bought the house, and they were waiting for us, sitting in the car outside wait[ing] for us to get out” (MK, interview: 24 April 2013).

Mr Houlie and Mrs Kivedo stated that it was not a difficult process to obtain a new house within the new neighbourhoods they had been designated to reside in. Mr Houlie explained “I didn’t have any problems, of course, they wanted us out” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012). People informed that once residents moved out of Fairview they could either purchase a house in a specific neighbourhood depending on your race classification, or you could apply and receive municipal housing which families were able to rent. Mrs Houlie spoke about her move to Salesoneville and explained that at first residents received municipal housing but eventually private developers took over the process:

“We were forced to move and these houses were built in that area Salesoneville. There were people living in West End and then from Fairview people slowly moved into those houses still council houses. You had to apply and you had to be a home owner, like where you live or something like that. Then you apply and go to them and have all your forms and you make a choice, and by the time we moved into Salesoneville there were many other people living in that area...His [Mr Houlie] brother moved in, was one of the first to move into Salesoneville, that was the other part of Salesoneville and then we moved in later. We were the latest ones to move in because...after that they did not provide council houses, no they didn't...It was then home ownership what they call private builders you know. That would take over it's not like the council build and put up homes for people, no it's like private builders they would build houses for the people to live in. That was the big thing because council houses were quite alright and we had the privilege and also the freedom to extend, we could extend our homes” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

After residents of Fairview had moved into their new neighbourhoods and houses, they faced many difficult adjustments. Mr Gelderboom explained the effect moving had on his grandparents:

“I want to say about the influence on some of the older people which couldn't afford to buy houses...Now like my grandfather, that's now my father's [father], he was still alive...My grandmother they had big houses, although it was not brick houses it was wood iron houses. They had big houses, big rooms and when they had to move...those people didn't last long after they moved. It could've been because they had to move into this small...very small houses. They had to discard some of their furniture because they had big houses; they had to

discard their animals because...here they had to sell it. I can say that because of my grandfather, my father's father, Isaaq Gelderboom him and a friend, Philander... they were big pals and ... they didn't live long after we moved. I always thought it was a, you know, effect of the, of that forced removals” (G, interview: 23 April 2013).

Mr and Mrs Houlie had moved out of Fairview in the early 1970s when their youngest, Samuel, was three years old. They too indicated that their family had to make a number of adjustments in the new area as Mrs Houlie explained “you don’t know people you have to make new friends” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012). Mrs Houlie informed that she was relieved that her older children were at least able to receive some of their education while they had resided in Fairview (Ibid.).

Ms Rose Houlie explained that her family moved from Fairview to Betholsdorp, and recalled that they were some of the last people to leave. She described that having to move and now pay more money for rent and electricity affected people negatively. She described how she was personally affected:

“I couldn't settle down because...to me I felt Fairview was still better than Betholsdorp, because we moved from Fairview to Betholsdorp and I couldn't take Betholsdorp” (RH, interview: 24 April 2013).

After a large proportion of residents were removed from Fairview the DCD began to demolish family homes, churches, schools and public buildings with the aim that Fairview would be redeveloped. Mrs Houlie explained, “they demolished the houses, not all at once, you could still go into Willow Road and see where you lived, the spot... and eventually you would see everything as down . You don't see any of it now” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012). Mrs Houlie informed that she found it heart-breaking that beautiful church buildings were destroyed in the process:

“The new Congregational Church a beautiful big church, to think that that was demolished. That beautiful church building...it had a high tower with a heavy bell inside you know those years they would still....have the bells chiming....We don't have it today, at first they would have the ordinary bell...but then they built it into this tower and they had to pull that...heavy rope...They had a beautiful...pipe organ it was the ordinary organ at first but then he [Mr Houlie] played a pipe organ...When they broke down the building that pipe organ went to [a church in the suburb of Gelvandale in the Northern Areas]” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

A series of aerial photographs of Fairview taken in 1966 (Figure 3), 1969 (Figure 4), and 1972 (Figure 5), displayed in that order, visually depicts the destruction of a neighbourhood which had been in existence for many decades. The first image (Figure 3) on which former residents traced places



central to their histories, photographically depicts the old neighbourhood at its best, showing clearly defined streets, buildings and houses. As time progressed these become less visible and instead we witness, as seen in the rest of the images, an increase of empty land being filled with trees. This razing of a neighbourhood and the buildings, homes and institutions that once filled it, was in preparation for Fairview to be redeveloped, a process which I explore in the next section.



**Figure 3:** Aerial photograph of Fairview 1966 (Sourced from the National Geo-spatial Information, Mowbray Cape Town)





**Figure 4:** Aerial photograph of Fairview 1969 (Sourced from the National Geo-spatial Information, Mowbray Cape Town)



**Figure 5:** Aerial photograph of Fairview 1972 (Sourced from the National Geo-spatial Information, Mowbray Cape Town)

### *The redevelopment of Fairview*

After the majority of its residents were forcibly removed, Fairview stood scarred and under-populated for almost a decade before development finally began (Evening Post, 14 March 1989). This is depicted best in the 1980 aerial photograph of Fairview (Figure 6) in which there are visibly a lot less buildings and houses and more trees that fill the empty spaces.



**Figure 6:** Aerial photograph of Fairview 1980 (Sourced from the National Geo-spatial Information, Mowbray Cape Town)

The present day area of Fairview is now of a smaller area than what it was, since after residents were moved and buildings demolished the Apartheid state sold portions of it to be redeveloped in phases into various new suburbs. Mr Human explained:

“... [Fairview was] a very big area not only that piece that is known as Fairview now. Fairview encompassed the whole of Newton Park too, the whole area, Greenacres that whole area was known as Fairview...then they cut it up into smaller pieces. Newton Park and all the others there where Greenacres is now that was the Fairview race course, so then finally only that piece known as Fairview now still carries the name Fairview. All the parts of Fairview have other names now, but Fairview was right up till Cape Road there in Newton Park the whole area was known as Fairview” (RH, interview: 24 April 2013).

By 1975, what the DCD and Municipality envisaged for Fairview was not immediately known but enquiries revealed that a plan existed to rename Fairview Overbaakens, and this new neighbourhood would incorporate private residential areas and housing schemes (Eastern Province Herald, 22 April 1975). Plans for the southern part of Fairview were submitted to the municipality for approval, but according to the spokesperson for the Town Planners Department they were referred to the DCD with recommendations for several minor changes (Ibid.). The final draft had planned to be scrutinised by the City Council's Estates and Industries Committee then sent to Administrator of the Cape, A.H Vosloo for final approval (Ibid.). Municipal and government officials would not say what was proposed for the redevelopment of Fairview and officials of the DCD and the Department of Planning stated that the project was confidential (Ibid.). Municipal officials stated that details could not be revealed until the Estates Committee was satisfied with the plans (Ibid.). Estate agents were not shy in admitting their interest in the land but they did not have an idea of what was in store (Ibid.).

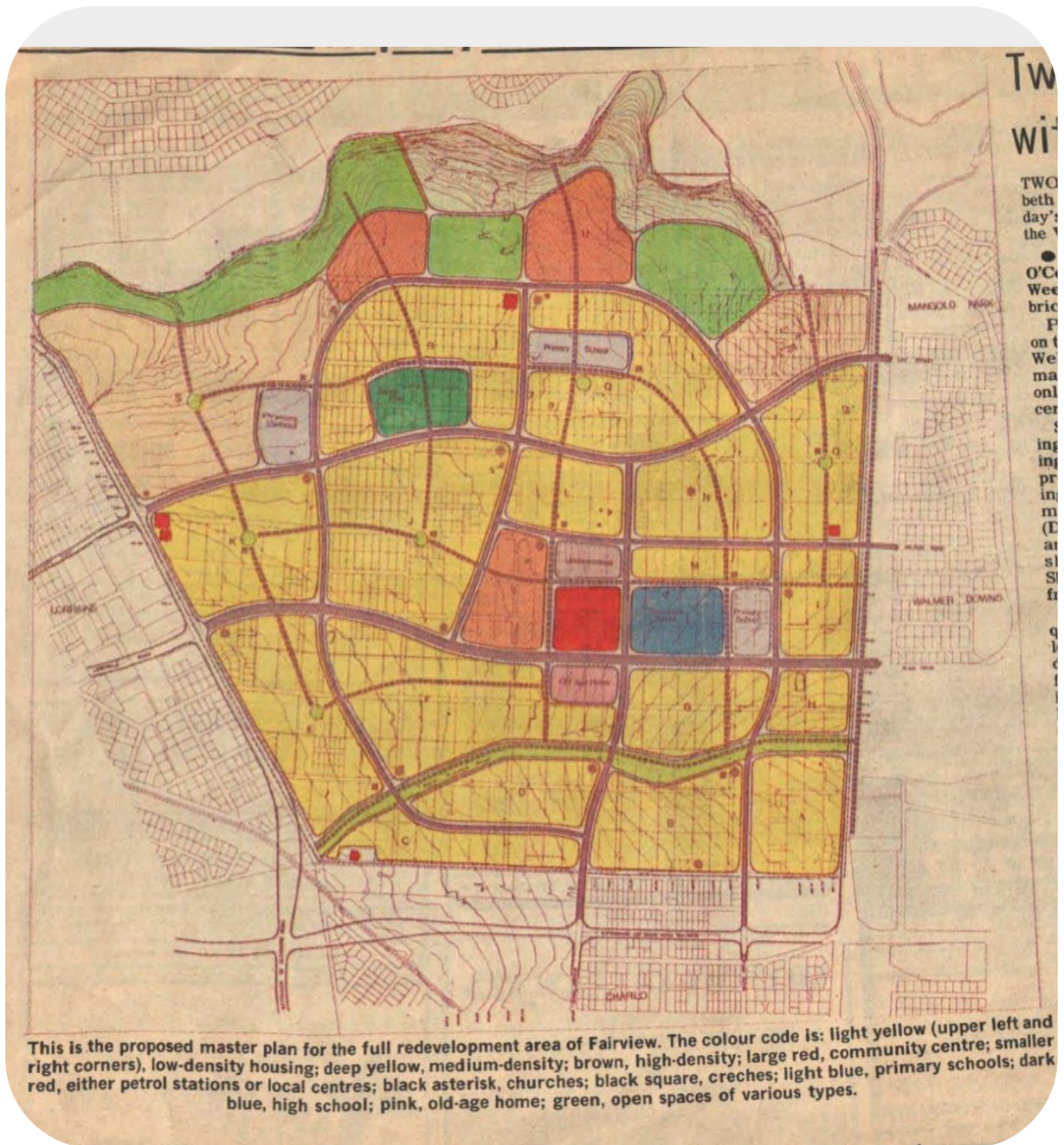
In July 1984, the redevelopment of Fairview was described as “one of the biggest developments Port Elizabeth has ever seen” (Weekend Post, 28 July 1984). It was indicated that at the time an invitation had been sent to major companies to tender for the building of more than 1000 dwellings at Fairview (Ibid.). It was noted that the area ready for redevelopment exceeded 100 hectares south of Seringa Road and was the first section of a zone to be called Overbaakens (Ibid.). A spokesperson stated that ideally one developer would be appointed for the first phase, to simplify installation of services throughout the 100 hectares (Ibid.). The report noted that it was decided to develop Fairview in phases because of the present economic situation and to avoid flooding the market with plots (Ibid.). In addition, there were certain guidelines available to interested buyers who were asked to contact the department's regional office before the end of August 1984 (Ibid.).

One year after the invitation had been sent to major companies to tender for the redevelopment of Fairview it was announced that Wonderwonings Eiendomme Bpk won the long-awaited tender for the first phase redevelopment of Fairview, now officially renamed Overbaakens (Property Post, 3 August 1985). This development at the time meant a possible investment of R100 million in the area over the next five or six years (Ibid.). In their successful tender, Wonderwonings offered R1 312 500 in cash together with a complete development plan for the whole Fairview area and not only the 104 hectares of the phase one redevelopment area (Ibid.). The managing director of Wonderwonings, Mr Vic van Rensburg, stated one of the primary purposes of the development of Fairview was the rapid provision of low-cost, high quality housing for people who have never owned their own homes before (Ibid.). Mr Van Rensburg added that the development of Fairview area would attract large sums of investment and provide hundreds of jobs in the city at a time when the economy was “bottoming out” (Property Post, 3 August 1985). The Wonderwonings team with the approval of the municipality planned to lay all services and handle the entire programme (Ibid.). They were geared to build

between 100 and 120 houses per year but were able to service up to 300 plots per year if the demand was there (Ibid.). At the time there was only one 'township' as big as the phase one in Fairview, a suburb called Sherwood which consisted of 1100 stands, and for Fairview it was planning on being close on 1000 in the first phase (Ibid.). Of these it was planned that Wonderwonings would develop 35% of the sites, with houses connected to the internal reticulation system, then sell 21% on a suspensive sale for development by individuals and they planned on selling 44% to small builders so that they can provide housing instead of speculating (Ibid.). It was reported that in 1985, 48 houses had already been sold, and the South African Red Cross Society was known to be planning a housing complex of 75 units costing about R3.5million alongside a facility of 100 beds for frail age for about R3million (Ibid.).

In March 1986, the master plan (Figure 7), for a full 519 hectares of the redevelopment area of Fairview had been completed and submitted to local, provincial and central government authorities for approval (Property Post, 1 March 1986). The plan was proposed to serve as a framework for future development of the entire area bounded by Circular Drive, William Moffet Expressway (previously 17<sup>th</sup> Avenue) and Baakens River Valley (Ibid.). Overall, it was prepared by Metroplan in collaboration with condition of purchase of the 103 hectares first phase redevelopment area (Ibid.). The master plan envisioned a fairly square, flat piece of land which lends itself to a more concentric form of development with a reasonable strong core area flowing out into the residential areas (Ibid.). It in addition, it provided for the creation of a system of cycle tracks and pedestrian ways which would lead from the surrounding residential areas to the major amenities like the community centre and schools (Ibid.). The area was divided into high, medium, and low density areas with medium density (15 units/ha) forming the bulk of the residential components covering most of the land from Circular Drive to the Baakens valley escarpment (Ibid.). A strong business and community element was in the central position, with the main business centre on the intersection of the proposed Luneville Road and extension of John Avenue (Ibid.). The business centre would be linked to other parts of the area via a pedestrian and cycle system and provision was made for two local centres in the more remote areas, and community centre which would cover 5, 75 hectares (Ibid.). The Master plan also showed that an area would be set aside for institutional facilities such as a library, police station, clinic and offices to be included in the centre area (Ibid.). Other amenities made provision for were two extra filling stations, high school site of 8,92 hectares (shared with a primary school), three primary schools (one of them on the site of the old Willowdene school), pre-school and crèche sites, church sites (12 sites, two of which are existing churches), and old age accommodation (3 hectares) (Ibid.).





**Figure 7:** The proposed master plan for the full redevelopment of Fairview (Property Post, 1 March 1986).

The redevelopment plan proposed for Fairview viewed the neighbourhood as an empty framework on which a new and seemingly improved neighbourhood could be superimposed. These visions therefore lacked a nuanced understanding of the space as it ignored the relationships, institutions and histories which constituted this place, and which play a central role in its reimagining. However, at the same time possibilities of areas being opened to all races was becoming an option for Fairview, and this revived the wounds for former residents.

### *The possibility of Fairview being opened to all*

In the late 1980s, it became evident that the developers, Wonderwonings Eiendomme, made an application to the Free Settlement Board (FSB) to declare Fairview a Free Settlement Area (FSA)<sup>5</sup>. Mr Dicky Britton, the chair of PELCRA, informed that Wonderwonings ‘jumped’ at the opportunity to develop Fairview but they eventually realised ‘time was catching up to them’ (DB, informal conversation: 17 April 2013). In June 1989, Fairview’s possible status as Port Elizabeth’s first FSA was undecided (Post, 28 June 1989). The FSB director, Hein Kruger, informed the Evening Post that Fairview was not yet being formally investigated by the board (Ibid.). In July 1990, it was indicated that a ruling from the FSB was expected in two months however, Wonderwonings decided to go ahead and re-plan a section of their land for luxury homes to be available to all races (Eastern Province Herald, 20 July 1990). The company designated their property south of the Klein Kabega River for some 150 houses on plots of about 1300m<sup>2</sup> each in an area to be called Parkview (Ibid.). House prices would start at R250 000 and sizes ranged from 200m<sup>2</sup> to 650m<sup>2</sup> (Ibid.). Louis Botha, managing director of Wonderwonings, indicated that the Group Areas Act had resulted in people building ‘small houses next to mansions’ adversely affecting values of larger homes (Ibid.). Hagglng over Fairview’s possible declaration as a FSA posed the possibility of delaying construction for four months in the Overbaakens (Weekend Post, 30 June 1990). A formal hearing in the Port Elizabeth City Hall was called to invite new comment on the application for Fairview to be declared an open area (Ibid.). In the meantime a number of homes had already been sold to buyers of different races and Wonderwonings were hoping to begin construction the following month (Ibid.). Wonderwoning’s managing director had indicated that plots were priced at R23 000 with a package deal plot and home of not less than R100 000 (Ibid.). He indicated that he expected people from all population groups to buy homes in that area despite the opposition and that he was fairly confident of

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<sup>5</sup> The distinct racial urban structures which resulted from the Group Areas Act came under increasing pressure from ‘blacks’ who were desperate for housing, both in terms of finding housing closer to the city as well as quality housing (Saff, 1990: 5). In response to this pressure and the reality of the ‘greying’ of large sections of South Africa’s cities the state introduced the concept of Free Settlement Areas (Ibid.). This was aimed at creating small islands of legally desegregated residential areas within the large process of continued residential segregation (Ibid.).

a positive decision from the board (Ibid.). He stated, "I think the political scenario now points to the opening of the area" (Eastern Province Herald, 6 July 1990).

Fewer than 20 objections, mainly from the NG Kerk Children's Home in Fairview and the 'white' residents from the neighbouring 'white' suburbs of Charlo and Lorraine were submitted to the FSB (Weekend Post, 30 June 1990). In addition during the general election period the previous year, Mr Kevin Wakeford, Democratic Party candidate warned that a FSA could lead to racial conflict because the great demand of decent housing could lead to an influx of people and eventually slums and exploitation (Ibid.). He stated that the entire country should be opened so that integration could be directed by socio-economic forces, and that FSA's were just a fifth type of group area (Ibid.). According to observers and the Port Elizabeth city councillor, Bobby Stevenson, by-laws and housing needs from all races would prevent Fairview from becoming an overpopulated slum if it is declared a FSA (Eastern Province Herald, 6 July 1990). Members of the FSB held a hearing in Port Elizabeth that week to consider opening part of Fairview to all population groups (Ibid.). There was a possibility of the area becoming a non-racial suburb of 4000 plots, some twenty years after the government declared it 'white' and moved the 'non- white' families, whom were mostly 'coloured' (Ibid.). At a recent meeting of the Ward 13 Ratepayer's Association about 30 residents voted against Fairview becoming a FSA (Ibid.). A Charlo resident feared that Fairview would become over populated and a dumping ground given the large demand for housing among 'black' people (Ibid.).

The FSB was scheduled to consider the Fairview application on 7 August 1990 and its recommendation was to be sent to the State President's office (Eastern Province Herald, 6 July 1990). The board was then expected to consider an application from a second development company to declare the northern portion of Fairview a FSA (Ibid.). Proponents from all sides of the issue have said the FSB's work could become a waste of time and money as the Government was widely expected to abolish the Group Areas Act (Ibid.). On the 16 August 1990, the FSB had ruled on Fairview the previous week, however, the decision would not become public until mid-October (Eastern Province Herald, 16 August 1990). The report on Fairview was still scheduled to be completed as the delay in the FSB's report on Fairview was attributed to the large number of people who made representations (Ibid.). The official of the FSB stated that submissions in favour of Fairview application were made by the House of Representatives and by the developers Wonderwonings, and two petitions containing about 800 names were registered in opposition (Ibid.). The major argument against it was based on socio-economic reasons, and that it would degrade the place and the value of their property would decrease (Ibid.). The official however states that the eight board members would not automatically reject the application because of the petitions (Ibid.). The Minister's Council and the State's President's Office were indicated to take a month each to study the FSB's reports with a final decision expected in mid-October of that year (Ibid.).

The possibility of Fairview being declared 'open', as one of the first FSA in Port Elizabeth, revived bitter memories of the removal of the community and demolition of buildings (Evening Post, 14 March 1989). Former residents expressed that they had felt anxious to return to Fairview if the suburb was declared multi-racial (Ibid.). Several former residents stated that, at the time, they could not return even for a visit because "their memories were so painful" (Evening Post, 14 March 1989). Mr Dietrich, former resident of Salisbury Park, commented on the possibility of Fairview being opened to all races and stated, "the spirit that prevailed in Fairview and Salisbury Park could never be recaptured" ... "the spirit of the area has been destroyed for good"... "the old Fairview community had been underprivileged and classless and all races had lived in harmony" (Weekend Post, 30 July 1990).

In 1989, while Fairview's position as an FSA was undecided, some residents were still fighting to continue to reside in Fairview and retain their properties and businesses (Evening Post, 14 March 1989). Mr G Ferreira fought to have his garage business, situated at 9 Willow Road, remain in Fairview (Evening Post, 27 February 1990). He was a member of a family whose business remained 20 years after the Group Areas Act was implemented (Ibid.). His family business stood in Willow Road for 47 years and he had been battling bureaucrats who wanted his land for the past three years (Ibid.). The area was being developed by Wonderwonings into the new suburb of Overbaakens and plots were already demarcated (Ibid.). Zoning of business rights in the new town planning scheme did not incorporate Mr Ferreira's site. At first he refused to budge under any circumstances at the time but said he could consider moving if he was given better compensation (Ibid.). Mr Ferreira was first approached by the Department of Local Government Housing and Works and was made an offer of R100 000 a morgen and three business lots which Mr Ferreira refused as "the property is paid for and it has been in my family for 47 years" (Evening Post, 27 February 1990). Most former residents of Fairview had received R1000 for one morgen (8 570m<sup>2</sup>) plots they owned (Weekend Post, 30 June 1990). Mr Dietrich stated that a Fairview erf measuring 8 570m<sup>2</sup> was expropriated by the House of Assembly the previous year (1989) and the owner was forced to accept R 6000 although, plots in the serviced area near William Moffet Expressway were at the time priced from R23 000 (Ibid.). A Mr Fred Simon was offered R3000 each for his 2 142m<sup>2</sup> Fairview plot in about 1970 (Ibid.). On the other hand, in Pine Road, Mr Ronald Mackenzie and his wife Elaine who had resided in the same house for nearly 30 years and seen the Group Areas Act remove their 'coloured' neighbours one by one (Evening Post, 14 March 1989). Their home at the time stood isolated and the couple indicated that if the formerly multiracial Fairview became one of the country's first FSAs they would move out (Ibid.). They described that "in the old days the whole place was full of houses, churches and cinemas. It was full of people and it was lively at night. It has been quiet around here since everybody moved out"... the people around here lived life to the full. There were always people in the street, children playing.



We got on well with our neighbours and so did our children. There are happy memories” (Evening Post, 14 March 1989).

The possibility of Fairview becoming a FSA re-opened wounds that revealed what former residents had endured as a result of the Group Areas Act. These could not be addressed by the option of returning to their former neighbourhood. This perception remains, as some former residents who had through the land restitution process, received land within Fairview, do not envision themselves returning after so many years. This notion highlights that what was lost was not only a space wherein people lived, but rather a place wherein meaningful friendships amongst families, friends and neighbours who over many decades built well-established networks around enduring community institutions, were too dismantled and destroyed.

### *Conclusion*

The Group Areas Act and the consequent forced removals of families was not only an administrative attempt within the Apartheid government’s plan to achieve its goal of complete racial segregation in terms of ownership, occupancy and business, but it also had an emotional effect on a neighbourhood and its residents. The process had forcibly evicted families from a place in which they lived their established lives and subsequently razed it to the ground. This continues to be remembered as a traumatic event that caused many heartache and pain. Through the recovery of Fairview we come to realise that former residents were not only removed from a residential space, but from a place wherein they built relationships around familiar and long-lasting community institutions. These were revealed through narratives and images that emerged in interconnected ways and are presented in the following chapters through research that shares a multi-faceted and intimate archive of the neighbourhood. These materials reimagine Fairview beyond the loss and destruction experienced, and presents a rich history through oral memories, family photographs and archival representations of the neighbourhood at the time. Together, in the following chapters, these add nuance and texture to how Fairview is remembered and recuperates its history of solely being about the dispossession experienced as a result of the Group Areas Act.

## **Chapter Five**

### **“Fairview was to us a *Fairview*”: From beautiful ‘*blommetjies*’ to Chinese shops and church bazaars, Fairview as a place of memories**

“Fairview....is where we were born, we went [to] our...church schools, there were all the denominations...there. The people of Fairview were very simple people, down to earth and respectful, even the children” (RH, interview: 24 April 2013)

#### *Introduction*

Today Fairview is reimagined and imbued with meaning years after its destruction. Former residents’ personal memories centre on Fairview as a place in which they were born, raised, educated, and were able to produce meaningful relationships amongst close-knit friends, family and neighbours. It is remembered as a neighbourhood that embodied beautiful trees, multi-faceted business, lively and talented entertainment, and in which a dominant church life existed. Furthermore, archival material provides insight into the relationship that existed between residents and the then local council, highlighting that there was always an attempt by its residents to make Fairview a safe and pleasant neighbourhood to reside in. In this chapter these memories are shared visually, through memory maps and family photographs, alongside narratives which provided glimpses into how this beloved suburb is remembered. Together these elements demonstrate that despite it being labelled a ‘peri-urban’ neighbourhood or viewed as a ‘slum’ by neighbouring ‘white’ residents, Fairview is emphasised for the enduring community institutions that constituted its environment. This is in stark contrast to the dryer and more barren neighbourhoods to which residents were removed.

*‘They say you come from the bush [but] you didn’t live like [that] ... [there were] well educated people, living good lives really’*

Former residents noted that Fairview was an underserviced neighbourhood described by Mr Brian Kivedo, as “not one hundred per cent urban” but rather, he stated, “the atmosphere ... was more ‘peri-urban’” (BK, interview: 23 April 2013). This was due to a lack of resources in the earlier years that included, for instance, electricity which was not a regular feature in people’s homes. Mrs Houlie stated that people made use of wood collected from a Pine plantation close by in order to make fires (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012). Mr Houlie explained that he recalled having to light candles and only during the later years not long before people were removed did electricity become an option (Ibid.). Mrs Houlie described:

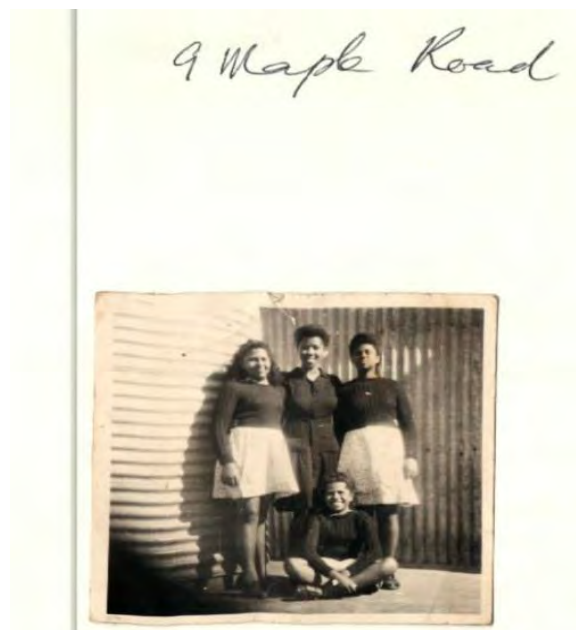
“I remember we had to apply for electricity and because of the Chinese shop we could get that and it was such a difference to have that” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

However, when electricity did become available only a few residents fortunate enough were able to gain access. Mr Human explained:

“There were brick houses there with electricity but...there [were] a lot of wood and iron houses that had no electricity. So there was electricity, but only, for let's say the upper class...those who could afford big houses and electricity” (RH, interview: 24 April 2013).

With regards to accessing water Mrs Houlie described that residents had to make use of either water tanks or bore holes that were situated on some residents' property (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012). Mrs Jantjes described that her grandfather, who resided in Maple Road, had a water tank on his plot, which is visible in the following in the image (Figure 8) wherein Mrs Jantjes is pictured with her sisters and aunts:

“We did not have running water; we caught rain water in tanks from the zinc roofs. So each house....we had a tank, a standing tank, one side of the house but an underground one at the other side of the house. It had a built-up round wall with a roof and when the poorer families, like the Xhosa families, when their little tanks ran out of water they came to our well for water, but because my father did not want an overcrowding he charged them a penny for a big tin of water so that they wouldn't come and crowd the place” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).



**Figure 8:** Mrs Jantjes with her siblings and aunts at the water tank on her grandfather's property, 9 Maple Road (EJ, photo).

In addition, particular residents did not have any form of sewerage on their property. Ms Rose Houlie described that a group of people called '*Die Nag Baar*' were responsible for collecting resident's waste twice a week however, on some evenings, they did not do their duty and sometimes only arrived at eight o'clock the next morning, when children were already on their way to school (RH, interview: 24 April 2013). Moreover, the roads in Fairview were initially gravelled and Mrs Kivedo stated that only in the later years did the municipality begin to tar some, starting with Willow Road and then moving onto Pine Road (MK, interview: 24 April 2013). Houses according to most former residents I had spoken to were also described as wood and iron homes, but Ms Rose Houlie indicated that different forms of housing infrastructure existed. She explained that people lived in:

"Wood and iron, sink, brick and of course...you get a shack there, and a shack there and tent there where people lived, in a bus there where people lived in" (RH, interview: 24 April 2013).

The efforts of the Fairview Ratepayers' Association, elaborated on in Chapter three, and the memories of the former residents indicate that despite the difficult circumstances in which they had to live, there was and still is an attempt to build and preserve the sense of neighbourhood and community that is remembered. Mrs Kivedo emphasises that:

"*ons het lekker geleef, lekker* [we lived a sweet life, sweet] we didn't struggle, a lot of money today but you still struggle" (MK, interview: 2013).

Mrs Houlie had mentioned that often people that resided outside of Fairview would describe its residents as "from the bush" as she laughingly explained:

"They say someone said the name Fairview, it's a fair-view from outside but when come inside you see just bush and trees, but it wasn't like that" (NH and DH, interview 1 October 2012).

In what follows I proceed to present former residents' personal reflections together with family photographs showing that those who were born and raised within Fairview had a very different experience to that from the outsider's perceptions. In contrast, Fairview was described as a very scenic neighbourhood that housed a variety of plant life. This included many poplar and willow trees, amongst others, all which were reflected in the fondly remembered street names which Mrs Jantjes explained, were "named after trees, and all the avenues after numbers" (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013). Willow Road, pictured in the image that follows (Figure 9), was the main street in Fairview on which you could find many community-owned shops, various church buildings, a post office, a butchery, the first two double storey homes in Fairview, and it was also on the main bus route (RH,

interview: 24 April 2013). The other streets ran parallel to Willow Road and were named Poplar, Cedar, Elm, Cypress, Maple, Pine, Wattle, Seringa, Mimosa, and Oak Road (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012). These were enclosed by two main streets on either side named Circular Drive and 17<sup>th</sup> Avenue, which has been renamed William Moffet Expressway (Ibid.). All the respective roads ran perpendicular to avenues from 17<sup>th</sup> Avenue to 21<sup>st</sup> Avenue across Fairview.



**Figure 9:** Willow Road, Fairview (BK, photo)

In response to those outside views that described residents from Fairview as ‘coming from the bush’, Mrs Houlie explained that for her the lush plant life that decorated the neighbourhood was beautiful:

“Holidays we would go to the valley. There was a stream there, there were beautiful like Proteas, we picked Proteas”... “some Daisies and... ‘*Aand blomme*’ they have the most beautiful smell and lots of plants, flowers you come from there you walk through there's a stream [and] there's lilies”... “when you go to Mount Pleasant that we use to call Salisbury Park is ‘*Duine Bessies*’”... “We picked and we eat it, it's a round berry when it's red round it's ripe we picked that” ... “Lots of guavas, we had [a] woman there by the name of... ‘Minna Dolly’ ...break times at school she lived nearby you could go to her, you buy guavas” ... “Cherries and loquats” ... “and quince that you call ‘*queepers*’. You know quince is not nice to eat but the children bought it. Now when you say we bought it, it's not two guavas for so much it's guavas you take a packet and they pick and it's a lot. That is why when we moved away from there up till today I never buy guavas at the shop” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

In close proximity to Fairview was a pine plantation filled with many parallel rows of Pine trees. Mr Kivedo on his memory map located it, and laughingly informed that many babies were conceived there. Mr Houlie indicated that because of the plantation people in Fairview would never be short of resources to make fire, as residents made use of the wood and pine cones found there. Mrs Houlie described that the plantation was located nearby her home in Willow Road, and that she very much enjoyed walking through it:

“Near to us was this plantation that was pine trees. Oh it's beautiful to walk through it because... [on] the ground were pine needles you...hear when you walk on it, and you know how they plant those Pine trees in beautiful rows” ... We could go in because a relative of ours worked there so afternoons we'd take him a bottle of tea or coffee and the lunch, but then during the day we would pick up pine cones you make fire with that... there was no electricity” ... “They had stacks and stacks of wood from that plantation” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

Mrs Jantjes explained that residents who were classified ‘black’ and who resided in Fairview made use of the pine plantation for cultural practices. She explained:

“Across from us was a pine plantation and next to it was this beautiful natural gardens we called it the valley. We use to go pick Proteas there and all kinds of flowers that grew wild, it was so beautiful with the tributary of the river running through it. Now in the pine plantation we use to go pick the cones to light the fire. In that pine plantation the 'blacks' put up huts. When it was circumcision time the young males came to live in the huts and we so naughty we use to go watch, because they put something like ash on their bodies you know and we use to watch when these grey bodies use to come out” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).

The various trees and flowers played a role in characterising the environment. Mr Kivedo indicated that sometimes within Fairview you could relax as the trees would contribute a feeling of tranquillity to the environment and suburb (BK, interview: 23 April 2013). People were also able to be self-sustainable on the vegetation that they grew in Fairview. Mr Gelderboom, who resided at 23 Maple Road, indicated that people had fertile grounds and soil as he described:

“We use to pick our own green beans, our tomatoes, fruit... We could reap from the ground, we could eat out of the...vegetable gardens” (G, interview: 23 April 2013).

In addition to the various trees, flowers and vegetation that adorned Fairview, a few residents housed animals on their properties. Mr Gelderboom indicated that on their property his family had pigs, horses, fowl and chicken, and explained that as a result his family never had to purchase eggs from

the shops (G, interview: 23 April 2013). Mrs Jantjes explained, while showing me an image of her and her dog Terry (Figure 10), that their backyard at her home was filled with various trees, and this was where her father kept fowls as well as two bee hives. She explained:

“He [her father]...use to cover himself up and take out the honey and, ooh we use to eat that honey you know fresh, fresh, fresh honey we use to eat” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).



**Figure 10:** Mrs Jantjes and her dog Terry in their backyard at 172 Willow Road (EJ, photo: 1956).

The images evoked by the various trees that lined the streets, together with the vegetable gardens and animals some residents had on their properties were remembered by former residents and were used to describe how beautiful Fairview was. Mrs Jantjes explained that residing in Fairview “was almost like.... [a] primitive part of the history where you relied on...natural resources” (EJ, interview: 14 February). As Mr Gelderboom and Mrs Houlie indicated, this allowed families to be partially self-sustainable as residents did not have to purchase particular products from the store. Fairview had a number of community shops for other goods that were needed. Many of these were owned and managed by Chinese families that resided in the neighbourhood, marking another set of cherished memories of former residents.

*'On every block there was a Chinese shop'*

The Chinese owned shops, many of which were situated in Willow road, were fondly remembered. The families that owned and operated them were residents of Fairview. Mrs Jantjes described that when Willow Road intersected with an Avenue you would find a Chinese shop which she considered a community shop as she explained:

“It was a grocery, vegetables, confectionary, medicine, chemist everything was in this shop you see. Now they were our neighbours in Willow Road, they were on the corner of Willow Road and whatever was that Avenue number” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).

While Mrs Kivedo spoke about the Chinese shops within Fairview she laughingly remembered being able to purchase on credit. Mr Human explained that at these shops you could “buy now and pay later” to which Mrs Kivedo responded:

“I had my bookie... *'einde van die maand'* [at the end of the month] then you pay” (MK, interview: 24 April 2013).

Mr Titus and Mrs Human recalled that on Saturdays shops were only allowed to trade until one o' clock and if you were caught by the police purchasing any time after, you could be arrested (MT, interview: 24 April 2013). This was one of the few times former residents spoke about some of the restrictive measures they faced from the Apartheid state, as these memories were indirectly interwoven with narrations about Fairview. Mr Titus described:

“The police were like....comes up the street and...it's past 1 [o' clock] on a Saturday and you walk pass with a bottle of paraffin they stop and they check you, where did you buy that?...Like some of the Chinese they had [a] trap door, like then you must buy through it...and suddenly here's a police, now you....must run even if you leave your money with the Chinese there inside because you're going to jail. They going to take you to jail for that” (MT, interview: 24 April 2013).

The Chinese shops were a prominent feature within former residents' memories and were an important point of interest on their memory maps. These shops were particularly helpful land marks when people navigated their way through the aerial photograph of Fairview (Figure 3) in the memory mapping exercise. Mrs Human assisted other former residents in their attempts to locate their previous homes by enquiring which Chinese shop they resided close to, indicating that these community shops were central features in the memories of Fairview.



People explained that not only did the Chinese families who resided in Fairview own and manage local shops, but also had a number of businesses that provided various other services to the neighbourhood. Mr Forlee described, the Forlee family:

“...the first generation, that's my grandfather, had the first bus service in Circular Drive...it was known in that town...He had to compete against Tramways B...which was a semi-government municipality operation, and through that period we were not allowed to get permits for new buses and the old buses were falling apart so eventually he had to pack up. That's one way of getting rid of him. Then his son went into [the] fishing business and my father they were brothers went into ice lollies, and that...is something which I think the whole generation from 1960s right up till now remembers. Joy Lollies it was a very well-known ice lolly which we brought up as very cheap....comparing to the big companies they were selling...And the next generation would be my generation, the third generation, and this where I come in and I have since now...I am always on the lookout for business” (JF, interview: 3 April 2013).

I had interviewed Mr Forlee at a restaurant he owned called *Memories* which is situated a few hundred metres from the present day and now empty Willow Road. In addition to the Forlee family, former residents remembered the Kong and Jackson families as prominent business people within Fairview. These families owned and managed shops, as well as the only two bioscope halls in Fairview, which not only screened films but also hosted live musical events. These became spaces which played a role in former residents' social lives and, as the discussion that follows details, provided a platform for bands and musicians that emerged from Fairview to showcase their talent.

#### *The Entertainment and entertainers in Fairview*

Fairview had two bioscopes called The Royal, situated in Willow Road, and The Cathay (Figure 11), situated further up in Twentieth Avenue. The latter was on the outskirts of Fairview closer to the 'coloured' enclave called Willowdene. These bioscope halls were fondly recalled. Ms Rose Houlie laughingly described, The Royal bioscope:

“The Royal...had fleas. Now The Royal was in Fairview, now we stayed on the corner what they called Ghost Corner....we were central in Fairview; Willow Road was a central road in Fairview. The bus rode...you come from the circle and you come down Willow Road on the way back to town then we had The Royal. The Royal came in the sixties...I think in the sixties, before 1965,...and so we had a bioscope .... The Royal was not far from us we stayed in the road and we supported The Royal” (RH, interview: 24 April 2013).

Mr Titus remembered being able to attend the bioscope for free as he worked for one of the Chinese families. He explained:

“Social life we had most of all the bioscope....We had two bioscopes in Fairview, The Royal was in Fairview and then The Cathy was more to Willowdene. But it was all Chinese, Chinese had it, and I was fortunate I use to work for the one Chinese so I went to the bioscope every Saturday free, you see so I was fortunate with that” (MT, interview: 24 April 2013).



**Figure 11:** A replica of The Cathay Hall at the South End Museum (IS, photo: 2 July 2013)

These bioscope halls screened films for Fairview residents, and also hosted social dances and musical performances. On some weekends, bands from Fairview or the surrounding suburbs and towns provided entertainment for residents. Mr Kivedo described some of the bands that played in Fairview:

“We had a lot of entertainment and entertainers in Fairview... We had for example a band called The Purple Haze, but even before the The Purple Haze they were called The Challengers, provided beautiful music of those days. The contemporary music, your Elvis your....Cliff Richard, Rolling Stones music. Then you also had the Starlite Swingsters one of the Starlite Swingsters' members is still playing, Herbie Jacobs ... We also played house to a lot of bands from outside for example, The Invaders were from Uitenhage but Fairview was their second home. They liked to play in The Cathay Hall,...and then we also had The Dots from Uitenhage and locally other parts of Port Elizabeth; Schauder, Korsten Gelvandale. We

had The Magnets, we had The Zodiacs, we had The Futures, The Future Juniors and Seniors” (BK, interview: 2 July 2013).

The South End Museum, particularly pays tribute to the community that existed there and also forcibly underwent Group Areas removals. It had an exhibition that memorialised the various musicians who performed during that time. These included bands from Fairview, for instance, the Starlite Swingsters (Figure 12), which formed in 1962 and was described as ‘a real family band’ (South End Museum, information sheet: 2013). Under the leadership of saxophonist Herbie Jacobs, the band included his brother Danny Jacobs, and their cousins, Richard and Fred Van Heerden (Ibid.). It was initially hard for the band to decide on a name for themselves until someone threw a burning firecracker called *Starlite* at Herbie, after which they decided to name the band The Starlite Swingsters (Ibid.). Herbie Jacobs played the saxophone, while Danny played the drums, Richard the banjo and Fred the guitar (Ibid.). In the beginning all these instruments were self-funded as the band experienced financial difficulties (Ibid.). The four musicians introduced themselves to Fairview by playing at fondly remembered house parties, more popularly known as ‘hops’. They also played in the backyard of a prominent businessman in Fairview called Mr Loonat (Ibid.). As the band’s popularity grew, they began playing in various halls in Port Elizabeth and the surrounding towns, including Fairview’s The Royal and Cathay (Ibid.). The band remained together for ten years until the Group Areas removals took place in Fairview, when the band disintegrated in 1972 (Ibid.).

In addition to the Starlite Swingsters was The Purple Haze Beat group which was established in 1968 in the home of Nelson February in Fairview (South End Museum, Information Sheet: 2013). The group stemmed from another group called the Mersey Beats which formed in 1965 under the management of John Zealand (Ibid.). Practice sessions took place in Nelson’s home and the band started growing a following of young and old admiring fans from Willow Road (Ibid.). The founding band members included Cecil Van Heerden who was responsible for the vocals and lead guitarist, Basil Van Heerden, who played the bass guitar, Michael Jacobs who provided the vocals and played the instrumental guitar, and Danny Lloyd who was the drummer (Ibid.). This popular string band went on to play in numerous halls in Port Elizabeth and the surrounding towns (Ibid.). In addition, they won various prizes in the ‘Battle of the Bands’ competitions and stage shows (Ibid.). It was indicated that one of the band’s highlights was when they were given the opportunity to perform with well-known Robbie Jansen’s band called The Rockets (Ibid.). The Group Areas removals were an impending threat to the band and seven years into their existence they experienced a threat to their survival and the inevitable occurred; The Purple Haze Beat group came to an abrupt and sad end (Ibid.).



**Figure 12:** The Starlite Swingsters pictured at the South End Museum (IS, photo: 2 July 2013).

Mr Kivedo remembered that entertainment in Fairview was also informally provided, sometimes outside the Chinese shops or in people's private homes (BK, interview: 2 July 2013). Mr Kivedo too played music and described his experiences:

"We had a lot of informal bands playing on '*stoeps*' [porches] like myself I was also one of those playing on the '*stoep*'...Your parents would have been very annoyed if they find out you playing on the shop but...there would always be a guitar or two. We had a lot of these Chinese shops there, and you'll find there's a person with a guitar...and you will see hey right start playing and that's how we went on and one, two, three you'll have a group three or four people crooning singing for example, songs like Rag Doll and those types of things... Now for those who can't afford the bigger halls entry fee we had what we call the '*hops*'...It's...house dance where the sofas, and the stretches, and the chair, and the tables are put aside and then the whole dining room, lounge area, will be converted in[to] [a] dance floor and there will be a person at the door charging a 10 cent. No it's not for free, they called it '*bop n' hop*', a '*bop*' was a shilling a 10 cent in those days and for you to be able to get in must pay 10 cent '*bop n' hop*'...There were a few families who often had these '*hops*' that's how we played from entertainment side" (BK, interview: 2 July 2013).

Mr Kivedo continues to play music and he informed me that he started from a young age while residing in Fairview (BK, informal conversation: 2 July 2013). While at the South End museum he indicated that his first guitar (Figure 13) was part of the music exhibition however, it had a dent in it (Ibid.). He explained that the domestic worker who had worked in his parent's home in Fairview accidentally placed the leg of the bed on it (Ibid.). After attempting to play it again he was furious because he knew it had been broken as it began producing false notes (Ibid.).



**Figure 13:** Mr Kivedo's first guitar at the South End Museum (IS, photo: 2 July 2013).

The bioscope halls and Chinese owned community shops found on every corner, are cherished institutions that existed in Fairview and are remembered as to the lives of central to former residents. These important markers of the neighbourhood are no longer there. The house parties hosted by neighbours brought friends and family together to enjoy talented musicians from Fairview and elsewhere, contributing to a sense of community that was characterised by familiarity. Another sphere of Fairview which also contributed a sense of neighbourliness, were the bus services also owned and operated by families that resided in the neighbourhood. Former residents fondly recalled the transport within Fairview which was viewed as a critical set of infrastructure that formed a central part of the neighbourhood, examined. These memories are examined in detail below.

*‘Those bus services, we were really spoilt’: Moving around Fairview*

Ms Rose Houlie indicated that it was not difficult getting around Fairview and to other suburbs around Port Elizabeth as there were a number of bus companies that provided a service to Fairview residents (RH, interview: 24 April 2012). She explained that the bus companies were owned and operated by the Forlee and Huckle families, both of whom resided in Fairview (Ibid.). Mr Gelderboom indicated that he could recall another family named Blunden, which also owned and operated a Fairview bus service (G, interview: 23 April 2013). In addition, the archival records reflected a Mr V.M. Comley and later Mr .T.S. Comley who were bus operators in the suburb of Lorraine (Traffic Inspector, report: 30 July 1951). This was called the Fairview Bus Service (Ibid.). Mrs Jantjes informed me that “the bus companies use to go around Circular Drive... [and] came down Willow Road” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013). Mrs Houlie explained that she would often use the bus service as a means of transport:

“We had two bus services one was Forlee, that's the Chinese gentlemen and one is Huckle was the ‘coloured’ man... Those bus services, we were really spoilt... If you want to go somewhere, you go to town, ... we had to travel by bus or where ever we went, you not ready

so you can get ready and tell a child to stand outside and say ‘tell me when you see the bus taking the turn’, and then you run to the bus stop and they were all ‘coloured’ drivers all of them... Then those people [bus drivers] knew you, they were part of the community... Most of us went to the same churches because that's where a community come together and get to know one another. That's your friendship group that, and in fact friendship circle not that you good friends but it's acquaintances you know. They the people you live with, go to school with... these drivers... These bus drivers knew us so when you can run out if that bus comes... and say stop, stop they will stop anywhere. There was not like at the bus stop, anywhere you can go and get onto the bus and... like... my step mother... there was a time we said, now why doesn't he move right into the yard, because they don't stop at the bus stop for you they know where you live especially when you're on the main road. They'll stop right in front of your house. Isn't that amazing” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

Ms Rose Houlie mentioned that in addition to the normal services the bus companies would provide transport to Fairview residents on special occasions. She explained when this happened:

“Forlee’s had a donated a bus service for all the people who suffered from TB [Tuberculosis] to take them to the clinic twice a week on their expense and they also provided transport... when there was a funeral. That time the people buried during the week, until Apartheid came in” (RH, interview: 24 April 2013).

The archival records reflect that there was always an attempt by the local council and the Ratepayers’ Association to improve the transport services within Fairview. The Town Clerk, on behalf of the council, addressed a number of letters to the owners of the bus companies requesting them to consider other routes in order to provide a better service to the residents of Fairview (Town Clerk, letter: 1 May 1941). The bus companies were requested to particularly consider residents who needed to attend the Clinic and could not afford to pay the full fare charged (Ibid.). In addition, the Fairview Ratepayers’ Association together with the Walmer Council also took issue with the condition of some of the buses and the speed at which they travelled. In 1944, the Association reported that over the past year the speeding of the buses decreased, but indicated that the number of buses which were Fairview bound was far from adequate resulting in serious overloading and overcrowding; a fact which the Association identified as being detrimental to the health of the community (Fairview Ratepayers’ Association, Annual Report: 1944). In 1946, it was reported that the short-comings mentioned above still remained unsolved:

“Over-crowding has become worse, especially during peak hours, and accompanied by speeding, make travelling at times rather dangerous” (Fairview Ratepayers’ Association, annual report: 1946).

The Association indicated that they had spared no efforts to bring these dangerous practices to the notice of the bus-proprietor, but at that time they had seen no improvement (Fairview Ratepayers' Association, Annual Report: 1946). The Association also lodged a strong protest with Mrs Forlee as she had established a service for 'Europeans Only' when Fairview was so inadequately served (Ibid.). It was noted that the proprietors appeared to take exception to any complaints addressed to them by the Association, and it was therefore recommended that the Association may find it necessary to address all complaints in connection with the bus-services directly to the Traffic Department and or Transportation Board (Ibid.).

In June 1952, the Association addressed another letter to the Town Clerk and the Walmer Council appealing for their assistance in some matters concerning the bus services (Traffic Inspector, letter: 10 June 1952). These matters included the condition of some of the buses that operated on the Baakens Bridge-Fairview-Walmer route (Ibid.). It was reported to the Association that one of the buses had trouble taking a bend due to defective brakes (Ibid.). In addition, it was noted that the windows of the buses were missing which made travelling in wet weather unpleasant (Ibid.). To this the Traffic Inspector responded that all the buses which were operating on the Fairview Bus Service were examined by the Port Elizabeth Traffic Department and they were passed in good order (Ibid.). Furthermore, the omnibus which was referred to in the Hon. Secretary's letter was withdrawn from the Fairview Bus Service for general overhaul (Ibid.). The Traffic Inspector stated that Fairview was now receiving the best service the area had ever had as a fleet of new buses, including a double-decker bus, had been substituted for the old buses of Mr T.S. Comley whose service was then operated by Vernon W Comley (Ibid.). Mrs F.M. Forlee's buses were indicated to be in good condition (Ibid.). The Traffic Inspector stated that they have interviewed people using the buses on a daily basis and all those interviewed indicated that they were quite satisfied with the service and remarked that the service operating at the time was the best they have ever had (Ibid.).

Mrs Houlie stated that when the bus companies ceased operation, the Municipal's Tramways began providing transport services to Fairview, and this for her was not a pleasant and welcomed change. She described her experiences as follows:

"It was not easy to adapt to that because now we had to be at the bus stop. Although, they were also 'coloured' drivers and 'coloured' conductors we knew them, but it wasn't the same as with Forlee and Huckle, just wasn't the same" (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

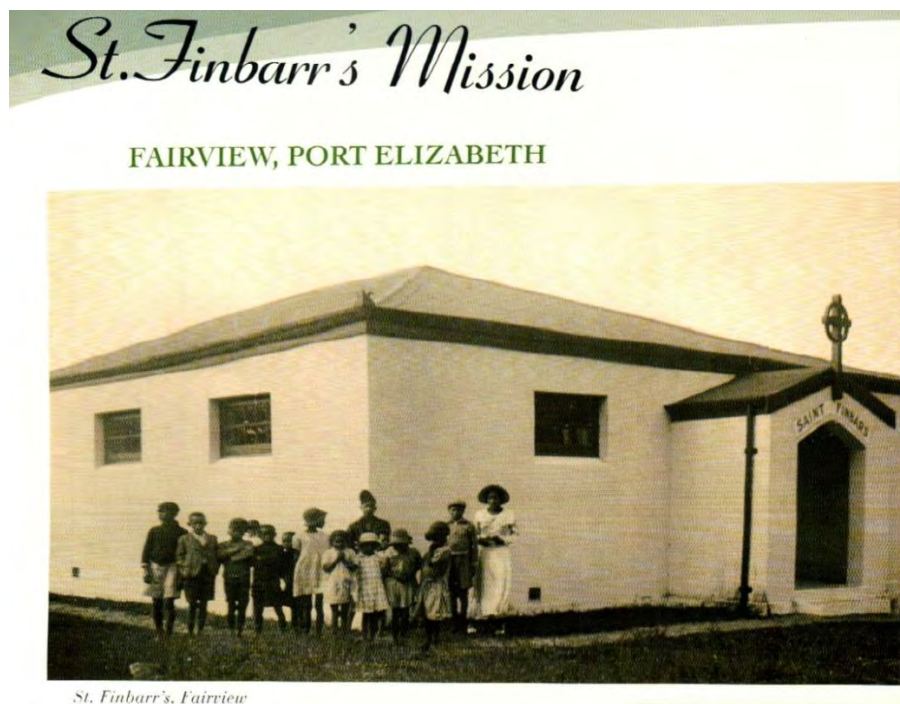
The transport services together with the Chinese owned shops and bioscope halls are central to how former residents reimagine Fairview. These long-standing community institutions remain prominent features within former residents' memories as it was within them that various community



relationships and a sense of community were nurtured. The various churches that existed in Fairview formed a part of this, and are discussed in detail below.

*'You so glad to go to church or go to a function because...you are going to meet the people there'*

The churches in Fairview were prominent spaces that formed an important part of former residents' lives and around which a sense of community was nurtured. Willow Road was often described as housing many church denominations which included the Moravian Church, the Bethesda Church, the Union Congregational Church, the Anglican Church, the Roman Catholic Church and the Old and New Apostolic Churches. St Finbar's (Figure 14) was the Roman Catholic Church, built in 1930, and was situated between 19<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Circular Drive (Glanville, 2007). Mr Forlee and his family had attended St Finbar's for a number of years, and recalled that the church expanded and moved to a bigger plot which was donated by his grandmother (JF, interview: 3 April 2013). Mass was held once a month and the parish was served by the resident priest of St Dominic's priory (Glanville, 2007). At the end of the 1930s, the church school was established, with teachers who were Dominican nuns from the priory (Ibid.). They travelled to Fairview everyday by donkey cart as well as for Sunday afternoon catechism (Ibid.). A newer church was built in 1959, and it was noted that quite a few 'white' families attended mass there including an ex-mayor of Port Elizabeth, John Vierra (Ibid.). After 1973, when the last families had left Fairview due to the Group Areas Act the church stood unoccupied until it was totally demolished in the late 1970s (Ibid.).



**Figure 14:** St Finbar's Catholic Church in Fairview (Glanville, 2007).



Mrs Jantjes spoke about the importance of church and religion within Fairview and explained that their, “lives revolved around it” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013). Mrs Human described:

“Sunday mornings then. the Congregation Church, they use to go out round about 6 o' clock in the mornings then they stand outside on their corners and then they start singing and preaching that was quite interesting yes... We also had song evenings with them... especially the Congregational Church and the Bethesda, and our church the Moravian Church” (EH, interview: 23 April 2013).

The churches were not only a religious space for former residents but they also played a central role in residents' social lives. Mrs Jantjes who was a member of the Fairview Union Congregational Church, in which she eventually married, described the various activities she had participated in:

“I was an officer at the girls live brigade-we were [a] choir. I mean Nicky [Mr Houlie]...had a short pants when he was an organist of the church, trained the choirs, sang in the choirs [and] [the] girls live brigade. We were involved [in] youth...everything revolved around the church. In the outreach programmes of the church, and the school...bazaars; I mean bazaar time...how involved I was at bazaars. I use to knit a lot and I bought a knitting machine-I knit all my samples... Bazaar time you were involved in so many stalls like the Sunday school will have a pudding stall then you must be there. This one would have a fish and pickle fish store... the brigade had needle work, and toys, and sweets and you know you involved in so many stalls at the bazaar for which you must work...and raise funds and do actual things baking or cooking... I was so tired of bazaar after Fairview's bazaar...you know so we were involved. Everything centred around the church, and the school, and all the activities in the community” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).

Mrs Kivedo who was a member of the Fairview Moravian Church (Figure 15) explained that she too was very involved in the preparation for the annual church bazaar:

“No, we were very active in church everyone worked. We were together in church all the young people and so on you know. When I got married the first year it was the bazaar, I got married in June and round about October there was a bazaar, and so the minister's wife she came she said ‘*Moria jy gaan nou vir ons help met die tafel, jy gaan nou tafel hou*’ [Moria, you are going to assist us with a table now, you are going to host a table] and so I didn't know how to make”... ‘*konfit*’ [pickled fruit] and they showed me how to make ‘*konfit*’ and I had to make the ‘*konfit*’ and everything” (MK, interview: 24 April 2013).



**Figure 15:** The Moravian Church in Willow Road (BK, photo).

Mrs Kivedo stated the bazaars were a highlight and an all-day event in Fairview which everybody attended. Caroline Windvogel explained “[the] bazaar is the whole day from the morning till the night ... it was nice [that] all the people took part in the bazaar” (CW, interview: 24 April 2013).

In addition to the annual bazaars, the Moravian Church hosted annual festivals in the month of August. These included ‘*Die Musiekfees*’ (The Music Festival) and ‘*Die Kinderfees*’ (The Children’s Festival). *Die Kinderfees* was hosted on the 17<sup>th</sup> August each year and Mrs Kivedo described the activities:

“[On the] 17th August...girls [wore] white dresses and the bows on the head and they use to sing” (MK, interview: 24 April 2013).

Mrs Human explained that as children they would have to decorate the church in preparation for ‘*Die Kinderfees*’ church service:

“On the Friday then we... will go down to the valley, that's the Baakens River, the valley to pick flowers like white lilies and the greenery, and then we go to the church and then we decorate the church for the Sunday” (MK, interview: 24 April 2013).

*Die Musiekfees* was also a big event on the Moravian church calendar, and was attended by a large number of Fairview residents. After her interview Mrs Kivedo, showed me some photographs of this event (Figure 16 and Figure 17).



**Figure 16:** *Die Musiekfees* (Music Festival) hosted by the Moravian Church (MK, photo).



**Figure 17:** *Die Musiekfees* (Music Festival) hosted by the Moravian Church (MK, photo).

Church and Sunday school were a big part of children's lives in Fairview. Mrs Kivedo explained that even when it would rain her daughter, Iris, would make sure that she attended church every Sunday as they would get into trouble if they did not. She elaborated on this activity:

“My daughter Iris...she was so small ‘*dun bientjies*’ [thin legs]. Then...it's raining [she said] mummy I must go ‘*ek moet gaan van Mr Frank is daar*’ [I must go because Mr Frank is there], Uncle Alexander, because ‘*hulle word kwaad*’ [they get angry] if you don't go to church” (MK, interview: 24 April 2013).

The churches, in addition, were also responsible for educating children in their early stages of learning. Mr Titus who was and still is a member of the Moravian Church explained that:

“...[In] those years those schools were still like what they call church schools, where you have to start in the morning with a prayer and singing...and then when you leave in the

afternoon you pray before you go home... You were actually told by the teacher you must go to church on Sunday, and on Monday he will ask you where you've been in church, and if you didn't go to church on Sunday then you in for something big. You see...that was the type of school that was there... There was lots and lots of other churches and those children came to Moravian School and they were taught Christian belief, even Muslims attended that school and the Muslims were taught the Christians' belief, and there were Chinese. I went to school with a lot of Chinese because in Fairview all the shops belong to Chinese, and those Chinese people they send their children to the 'coloured' schools...and fortunately The Moravian School" (MT, interview: 24 April 2013).

A few former residents not only attended these church schools but in the later years returned to work in them. Both Mrs Jantjes and Mrs Houlie were teachers at Springfield Primary which was the church school associated with the Union Congregational Church. Mrs Houlie recalled that it was situated in Pine Road, and initially the building served as both a school and a church a church was built in Willow Road a few years later (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012). Mr GB Roman, who too served on the Fairview Ratepayers' Association, was the first principal of the school, followed by Mr CP Carelsen (Ibid.). The school catered for pupils from what was then known as Sub A to Standard 6 (Ibid.). Springfield Primary was the only school in Fairview for a number of years until the Moravian Church built a school in 20<sup>th</sup> Avenue (Ibid.). The first 'coloured' doctor of Fairview, Dr Roman, the son of Mr GB Roman, was a product of this school (Ibid.). In addition, many teachers that served in the school were also products of Springfield Primary (Ibid.). Mrs Jantjes, while showing me images of her colleagues with whom she had taught during her years of teaching at Springfield Primary, described that many successful students were products of this school (Figure 18 and Figure 19). Mrs Houlie also expressed that she remains grateful that the majority of her children were able to receive their education from Springfield Primary before the school was demolished and they were forced to leave Fairview. She explained that she remained there as a teacher until its last days of existence:

"I was one of the last teachers at the school...they closed down the school. It now becomes a government school, government property, it's not the church's school and they moved the teachers to the other areas to other schools. I was one of the last I remember. I think we were just two, myself and that gentleman, we were the last there to move from that area, from that school" (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).





**Figure 18:** Springfield Primary School staff photo 1956 (EJ, photo).



**Figure 19:** Springfield Primary School staff photo 1957 (EJ, photo).

As Mr Titus explained church schools were not only reserved for children of the Christian faith. Mrs Human, who attended the Moravian church school informed that a number of culturally diverse children attended the church schools, including those from a Chinese and Islamic background (EH, interview: 23 April 2013). Mrs Human described school life in Fairview as “quite interesting” as she remembered the following:

“We had walk to school sometimes, it was cold, barefoot we had to walk. We were very poor...that time...we had to walk to school in the mornings and in the afternoons...We played netball and sports also against the other schools like the Springfield, and the Moravian school they were very good in singing, they use to get all the trophies in the choirs...What I can still remember was is the competition that was there amongst the teachers...The teachers, use to make their soup better....than the other teacher...The competition was quite strong there. Mr Alexander Franco...he was the main person with soup...especially amongst him and Mr Steenveld...The time when I was there we had Mr Shavel he was the principal, and then he...was a very strict principal. Monday mornings...we had to assemble there and then he ask who was in Sunday school and in church and then you must stand on the one side and you must tell him...why didn't you go to church. He was very strict, we had to go to Sunday school every Sunday and that was in the afternoon, and we had to be in church every Sunday in the morning...and Wednesday evenings” (EH, interview: 23 April 2013).

The Fairview Ratepayers' Association also played a role in ensuring that Fairview housed spaces for educational purposes. In 1944, it was reported that their executive, on the Association's recommendation, requested the Fairview Suburban Estate Company to transfer a piece of land, in Cypress Road between 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Avenue, as set out in the original plan of Fairview to the Educational Trustees (Fairview Ratepayers' Association, Annual Report: 1944). This was requested for the purpose of higher primary and secondary education for 'coloured' residents, but it was noted that the request was ignored (Ibid.). In 1946, the above-mentioned site, which at the time was not utilised, was transferred to the Port Elizabeth School Board (Fairview Ratepayers' Association, Annual Report: 1946). However, since compulsory education was anticipated, it seemed possible that it will be used to make provision for higher primary or secondary education facilities in Fairview (Ibid.).

After children in Fairview received their early education from the church schools, they attended Willowdene Secondary School known as the '*Middelbaare skool*' in Afrikaans. This school was situated in 19<sup>th</sup> Avenue, and during the memory mapping exercise was labelled '*Die Pienk Skool*' (The Pink School) due to the colour of the building. The school building is one of the few that remains in Fairview and was used for police training during the Apartheid years. It is now a private

Christian school called Willow Academy. After attending Willowdene Secondary, students of Fairview decided to either continue their education at the high schools that were designated for them on racial grounds in the surrounding suburbs, or to pursue a qualification or apprenticeship which allowed them to go into specialised jobs. Mr Titus explained that:

“From Fairview if you want to go to high school you must go to Schauder or South End...but of all the guys I knew, especially the young, when they left school they went for an apprenticeship in the building trade. Now-a -days they are all big men now, but they are qualified carpenters, qualified masons, electricians and all that. That is actually the main direction that the guys took after that secondary school...There were a few that went to high school but like...then it was high education once you have your standard 8, some of them even left standard 7” (MT, interview: 24 April 2013).

Mr Titus explained that people were able to build successful careers in which they were respected, whether they decided to continue their education or obtain more technical qualifications. This form of respect centred many of the relationships that existed in Fairview and remains between fellow former residents. This was due to the fact that residents not only resided together but were able to build meaningful relationships based around these enduring community institutions discussed in this chapter. For instance, the various churches were not only a space in which residents could establish a strong religious beliefs, but was also a place in which a close-knit community was fostered as children from an early age attended church and school together.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter explores how former residents’ memories, family photographs, memory maps together with archival documents recover a neighbourhood remembered for more than the dispossession and destruction it experienced as a result of the Group Areas Act. In contrast, these representations present a layered and nuanced set of images and stories that reimagines Fairview as a neighbourhood filled with beautiful flowers and fruit trees that contributed to its tranquil environment. It is remembered as a place that had familiar Chinese owned shops on every corner, bioscope halls, social dances hosted by fellow neighbours, and a responsible community bus service. In addition, Fairview is still known for the various church denominations it housed, and in which residents were able to build a strong religious beliefs, a sense of community as well as produce young educated population. These long-standing and familiar community institutions are central to how former residents recall their past experiences in Fairview. They are the social and physical infrastructure on which people built experiences and nurtured. In the following chapter, I explore the family histories, community networks and meaningful relationships that were developed in Fairview, and add another layer to how these institutions are remembered.

## **Chapter Six**

### **“When I go past 55 Willow Road, then I remember my birthplace, I can see it in my mind”: Memories of Family histories, community networks and relationships**

#### *Introduction*

Memories of Fairview were rarely retold in chronological order; former residents were able to recall a few dates, but often their stories centred around ‘everyday’ experiences of residing in Fairview. At the heart of these were narratives about enduring community institutions. However, equally important, were the meaningful relationships that existed between family, friends and neighbours, and how these produced a strong sense of community and neighbourliness. The relationships amongst residents contributed to the multiple community networks that still exist today. Mr Titus emphasises the importance of these memories:

“But what we did get out of Fairview it was good....Good memories. Whenever you meet somebody from Fairview maybe after a year....then you talk about Fairview, you say 'hey'”  
(MT, interview: 24 April 2013).

A mutual form of respect characterised these relationships and was highlighted in these memories, recuperating Fairview as a place where people lived respected lives. This chapter explores former residents’ memories of Fairview, and the relationships they experienced which were anchored first and foremost in a broad notion of family.

#### *‘Everybody is like your family’*

Fairview housed generations of families who either lived together on big family plots or in close proximity to each other. Mrs Jantjes explained that after her biological mother passed away one of the reasons her father decided to move from Korsten to Fairview was to be close to his father and siblings in Maple Road, pictured together in a family portrait (Figure 20) (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013). This led to Mrs Houlie and Mrs Jantjes settling in at 172 Willow Road, Fairview together with their father, step-mother, and siblings who are pictured standing alongside each other in the lounge of their home (Figure 21).



9 Maple Road



**Figure 20:** Standing: Mr Koeries (Mrs Houlie and Mrs Jantjes' father), seated on the chairs: Mrs Houlie and Jantjes' grandfather and his wife, seated on the floor: Mrs Houlie and Jantjes' aunts. Taken 9 Maple Road (EJ, photo)



**Figure 21:** Mrs Jantjes (second from left), Mrs Houlie (first from right) and their siblings (EJ, photo: 1956).

Mr Forlee explained that Fairview, and more specifically Willow Road, was home to three generations of his family. He stated that “all generations stayed in Willow Road up to me” and described himself as “the one that switched off the lights...because we were all told to move out” (JF, interview: 3 April 2013). Mrs Human who resided in Willow Road at number 55 also lived on what she described as a big family plot:

“We use to live, we call that the '*Groen Yard*' [Green Yard] where we use to live. Next to us was The Barracks and there was quite a lot of people living there, different people. We were three families on our plot it was very big from Willow Road to the other road Elm Road, and at the back of our house was the Catholic church, so it was very big...We use to play with the people next to us and...we were very close, and even the people opposite...was also family, you know most of them were family there living around” (EH, interview: 23 April 2013).

Families resided in Fairview for many years. After some had married and left their parents' home they proceeded to establish their own families within Fairview. Both Mrs Jantjes and Mrs Houlie met and married their husbands within Fairview after which, as previously stated, Mrs Houlie moved from number 172 to 29 Willow Road where Mr Houlie resided with his family. Mrs Houlie stated that all



their children were born in Fairview (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012). She explained that, “the most important thing...all the older children were educated at the school there, at Springfield School” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012). Mrs Kivedo indicated that she was born and raised in her parents’ home situated in Oak Road, and after she married she moved to Pine Road, both of which are in Fairview in close proximity to each other (MK, interview: 24 April 2013). Mrs Kivedo indicated that her children were also born and raised in Fairview before they were forced to leave (Ibid.). Residents therefore had strong familial bonds which were not only evident within their memories but were also evident in family photographs retrieved from plastic sleeves or boxes that were stored away in cupboards. Some images presented glimpses into special family moments that, for instance, depicted a 21<sup>st</sup> birthday (Figure 22) or a bridal tea (Figure 23), highlighting that these milestones were special and formal occasions that needed to be celebrated and remembered.



**Figure 22:** Celebrating Mrs Jantjes’ and Houlie’s step-sister’s (Daphne) 21st birthday (EJ, photo: 1955).



**Figure 23:** Mrs Jantjes' and Houlie's step-sister's (Daphne) bridal kitchen tea (EJ, photo).

On the other hand, other images portrayed the importance of family through carefully orchestrated family portraits, such as that of Mrs Swem.



**Figure 24:** Mrs Swem's (then Gedult) family posing outside their home, owned by her grandmother in Cypress Road (JS, photo).

This strong connection between families extended to surrounding neighbours and residents as Fairview was a neighbourhood often described by former residents as 'a big family'. Residents did not only share a residential space, but also attended the same churches, church events, schools, social dances and played sports together, amongst other activities. The idea that the relationships between

residents of Fairview was like a close-knit family, was present within people's stories about the various aspects which were part of their lives and experiences at the time. Mr Houlie explained:

“You knew everyone that stayed in Fairview; Fairview...was like a family. We were all family, you knew everyone. You know where they stay and that's what was so good. When we moved from Fairview, even up till today when Fairview people...hear there someone is from Fairview you have a lot to say about Fairview. How good it was, how nice it was. We were like a family” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

Former residents of Fairview share a connection and an experience which forms part of their identity and who they are. This is often evoked when former residents see each other in the present and the conversation revolves around their lives in Fairview. Mr Forlee stated that “everybody respected each [other].... today we still see each other, some of them. I see some of them there's a lot [of] respect, and then we talk about the old days in Fairview” (JF, interview: 3 April 2013). Mr Titus reported explained that before I arrived to interview him he was walking back from the shop and ran into another former resident of Fairview:

“I just saw a guy now when I was coming from the shop he is staying just down there. He went to September Crescent down there to pick some guavas for him... Then we started talking about Fairview we say, ‘yoh’ there in Fairview you see guavas all over. We had guavas where ever you look there. Those were the days, nice days in Fairview” (MT, interview: 24 April 2013).

During the memory mapping exercise, the close connection and familiarity that existed between residents became evident. People were able to recall where various families and neighbours in Fairview resided with relative ease, including those that did not live in close proximity or on the same street. For the most part, after I had orientated former residents with a few street names and avenue numbers, they continued with the exercise while I observed. As they worked together they were able to recall family names they knew in common and locate where they had lived on their maps. The social networks served other needs in addition to the close-knit community and the valued relationships that residents had with each other. The teachers, doctors and business people that serviced the neighbourhood were themselves residents of Fairview. During the memory mapping exercise former residents were able to remember the families who sold particular necessities or provided services within Fairview. Mrs Human explained that on Cedar Road the Hendricks family sold vegetables, the Warrikers family, wood, and the Felix family coconut ice (EH, interview: 8 July 2013). Mr Titus together with Mr and Mrs Human also fondly recalled where they bought fruit and vegetables. Mrs Human asked “and where did we buy our fruits and veggies” to which Mr Titus and Mr Human responded:

MT: “Yes like from the Motta. Motta is now the Muslim woman”

JH: “She was on Ghost Corner”

MT: Ya, she was on Ghost Corner and... you know what kept everybody away from her...she'd swear. ‘*Wat is hy*’ [What is he], swear like what?”

EH: “‘*Vloek soos n' matroos*’ [swear like a sailor] in Afrikaans”

MT: She did. I remember one day I stole a mango there and she found out and she saw the mango, *oooh* she make *blah*. Then you must never do something wrong with the Motta”

EH: And you can't question her....you bought this bag of potatoes and most of it it's rotten inside then she will ask you, how must I look in that” (MT, interview: 24 April 2013).

A number of former residents also mentioned Doctor Roman, the son of Mr G.B. Roman, who was one of the first ‘coloured’ doctors who resided and was educated in Fairview. Both Dr Roman and his father resided in Willow Road and were prominent members of the community. Mrs Jantjes explained, “[Mr] Roman eventually their son...was the first medical doctor. He did a lot for my sister when she developed asthma because they lived in Willow Road” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013). Mr G.B. Roman served on the Ratepayer’s Association and was the principal of Springfield Primary School which both Mrs Houlie and Mrs Jantjes attended and eventually taught. Mrs Jantjes, pictured laughing with her colleagues (Figure 25), recalled that when female teachers either got engaged or married, Mr G.B. Roman would inform them about when his wife gave birth to their son, and how that influenced her position as the community nurse within Fairview. She described:

“Mr Roman when each of his female staff got married, got engaged and we close to marriage he would call us into the office and he would tell us the story of his son's birth. He said when his wife expected Ustes, the one that became a doctor, he told her [his wife] to read medical books and that is when she started becoming the community nurse....Even when her son eventually practised. There was one occasion when the son was called to a patient and the patient had this [packet] of mixed spice, you know the spice you put in cake and stuff either on the stomach or on her head and he told her ‘are you a cake, take off that’ he said. Sick as she was she said...’your mother said I must put it on’. They believed her so you know. She closed my father's eyes, she was at every sick bed and even when [her] child was eventually born ....when someone became ill, call Mrs Roman, Aunt Saai we call her...My sister took ill in her house, walking down Willow Road. She took ill she had a clot. She got ill in Aunt Saai's house you know...that is so remarkable” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).





**Figure 25:** Teachers at Willowdene Secondary School with Mrs Jantjes on the far right (EJ, photo).

Mr Forlee recalled the close-knit community that existed in Fairview while remembering a very emotional period in his life. He explained:

“Yes the community was fairly close I would say so. I mean our immediate neighbours...like my mom died of cancer and every night there was a member of the community, 'coloured' community, there sitting around” (JF, interview: 3 April 2013).

Former residents expressed that because residents were familiar with each other Fairview was a fairly safe neighbourhood. Mrs Kivedo explained that:

“We had nice people in Fairview. You know...we had ruffians, there's... always ruffians about. But there, Fairview, you could've walk in the dark they didn't attack you like....today. I use to walk to my sister's house and it's a distance from me... Now I took her halfway at night and then yes she walked home, '*niks oor gekom nie*' [we did not overcome anything], nothing happened” (MK, interview: 24 April 2013).

Mr Titus too mentioned that Fairview housed many characters but nobody would interfere with them as these were your neighbours. He recalled that:

“No there were lots of characters you know lots, lots and lots and lots of characters in Fairview.... Like you get somebody he's drinking he walks in the street he's '*lekker*' [nicely]

drunk and he's just going home.....because I have been drinking there in a beer bush or whatever....but nobody will rob him or interfere with him. He'll just walk home....the thing is they knew each other. And then we came here, total strangers between one another” (MT, interview: 24 April 2013).

Residents experienced a sense of community and neighbourliness because Fairview housed families who had strong familial bonds which extended to surrounding neighbours. This sense of community and neighbourliness played out through various networks that comprised more than just sharing a residential space. Residents also owned and managed the community shops that serviced the neighbourhood and were too the doctors, teachers, priests and community shop owners of Fairview. Fairview was also remembered for its diverse population which was comprised of a mix of people who were categorised different racially, culturally or according to their professions. This characteristic of Fairview and its residents is the focus of the following discussion.

*‘It was mixed ... we had the different people’*

The population that resided in Fairview was described as mixed in terms of race, class and character. Mr Kivedo described Fairview as “quite diverse” and explained that:

“We had the ‘coloureds’ they were the majority, then we had the Xhosa speaking people, the ‘blacks’, we had a lot of Chinese people, they were more in business, we had Indian people, more in business, and then even we had quite a number of ‘white’ people” (BK, interview: 23 April 2013).

Mrs Jantjes also described Fairview as a multi-racial and multi-cultural neighbourhood and stated:

“This setting, this multi-cultural, multi-racial setting, no one thought about it because it was natural that's how we lived. ‘Black’ family here, a ‘coloured’ family here, a Chinese family, ‘white’ family, intermingle...‘white’ and ‘black’ families” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).

Davies states that, in 1849 the Walmer village in which Fairview was situated developed its own Bantu township to the south of the village, and at Fairview an agricultural allotment area which was predominantly populated by ‘coloureds’ (1971: 69). Subsequently, Fairview gradually developed a heterogeneous character as the agricultural allotments were subdivided and bought by ‘white’, ‘black’ and Asian residents and finally becoming a generally lower class residential area (Ibid.). As discussed earlier in Chapter four, the heterogeneous character of Fairview’s population became a threat to the Apartheid government’s plan of separate development, and was one of the reasons it was targeted by



the Group Areas legislation. However, to former residents the diverse nature of Fairview's residents is fondly remembered as a distinctive feature of the neighbourhood.

Fairview's population did not only contain families who were classified differently in terms of race but as Mrs Jantjes explained, a number of marriages and families were 'inter-cultural' and 'inter-racial'. She recalled that in the short street of Maple Road, where her grandfather resided, there were three families who were racially mixed (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013). This included her grandparents (Figure 20), which consisted of her grandfather who was classified 'coloured' and her step-grandmother who was from Dutch descent (Ibid.). Mrs Jantjes described the diversity of Fairview as follows:

"Now we all living together and that was now not only for Willow Road, Maple Road, it was the whole Fairview" (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).

In addition to people having relationships with residents who were classified racially and culturally different residents also formed close bonds within their racial and cultural groupings. With regards to the Chinese population that resided in Fairview Mr Forlee explained that:

"We were all friends with everybody, but we still had very closely knit Chinese community. The Chinese have quite a few...spaces in the old days to play the game of 'Mahjong'. You know the Chinese game they use to play? They still play it nowadays...and then...they use to meet at our place, and that is why we still kept a strong Chinese community to [a] certain extent" (JF, interview: 3 April 2013).

There were also diverse professions, classes and characters. Residents in Fairview had various occupations as Mrs Human described "we had social classes yes" (EH, interview: 23 April 2013). People's occupations ranged from teachers, to religious leaders, entrepreneurs, doctors, factory and domestic workers, and masons amongst others. Mr Kivedo emphasised the varied nature of the residents within Fairview by explaining that:

"Fairview was...a place of extremes. There...in Fairview [you] found the holiest of the holiest church people Christians etcetera. Then you also had your gangsters like today that was not a strange phenomenon"... "Fairview was...a very diverse place from the biggest Apostle, the church minister, the preacher to the biggest gangster you find and in between you have the different building blocks. It's so interesting but we showed respect...for one another" (BK, interview: 23 April 2013).

The Fairview community however, had community issues. Former residents acknowledged that there were certain difficulties within Fairview, which included the presence of gangs. Mr Kivedo mentioned that during the late 1970s, while residents were moving out, Fairview experienced a particular dark period due to violent gangs causing havoc. He explained:

“I don't want to dwell too much on the negative side. I don't know what happened, in...1970 that was the time when I was away from home I was on campus, tertiary studies, that's the time when anarchy was the name of the game in Fairview....The gangsters taking over as people started moving out, the gangs started to get in. You had gangs like your Jesus and the 12 Apostles, you had gangs like ‘*Aperdjies*’, you had the Mongrels Mafias, Young 40 Thieves all those gangs, and of course one of the most notorious gangs the Joy Lolly boys. There was a time I heard it on radio, on national radio, ....I think it was the last six months of the year there were eight murders per day committed in Fairview, and that for me, that was very tragic very, very tragic. Because, no more is a place where you can walk and I mean you had to look over your shoulder especially over the weekends [as] most of those gangsters know you all. Depends where you walk...People from other blocks can't just come and walk, there is almost you must have permission to walk there, and those were lives being lost, senseless killings...Fairview just became a place, a type of no-go area, where it was the gangsters playing around...and I think that was the slow death we experienced of a once vibrant, tranquil environment, close-knit society, gradually it was faded out” (BK, interview: 2 July 2013).

Despite its diverse character, former residents reinforced that residents of Fairview had respect for one another. As Ms Rose Houlie emphasises, “It [Fairview] was mixed. We had the different people ‘coloureds’, ‘whites’, *Boere*, Afrikaners, Indians, Muslims, Africans. There was never fighting amongst us as... we were respectful to each and everybody of Fairview, whether you're a child or a ‘*skool*’ [school] girl...the respect was there from the elders to the children” (RH, interview: 24 April 2013). The mutual form of respect continues within the present. Those from and who resided within Fairview were, and are still, seen as people who lived respectable lives and who were talented within different spheres.

*‘Out of that Fairview there were very good people there’*

While speaking about the people that resided in Fairview Mr Forlee explained that:

“We were rough and tumble but we stood up for ourselves and we all...whether it's 'black' 'coloured' or Chinese I would just think of the many.... people, acquaintances and friends that

I knew there they've become prominent people you know. Business people and academics and things like that” (JF, interview: 3 April 2013).

There were many good products from Fairview, Mrs Houlie emphasised that:

“They [Fairview] had the best soccer teams, they had the best athletes and good scholars from the school they took first prize in things. Even in the Eisteddfods ... we had the Eisteddfods they did that. So it wasn't like although they say you come from the bush you didn't live like [that] ... [there were] well educated people, living good lives really, living good lives” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

As sports were a large part of residents' activities, particularly on weekends talented and well respected athletes were produced in Fairview. The sports that people played in Fairview ranged from soccer, rugby, hockey, netball, tennis and golf, and Fairview housed the appropriate sports fields and complexes on which people played. Mrs Houlie described these facilities:

“Sports fields... borders on 17th Avenue where you ride and you go around that they call Circular Drive we had our sports fields... We had tennis courts there and, soccer, rugby they played everything on that field, but then when that place was declared Group Areas because of the Group Areas Act we had to move. Everything was taken away” (NH and DH, interview: 1 October 2012).

The archival records reflected that the Fairview Ratepayers' Association were involved in negotiating sports facilities for Fairview. In 1946, one deputation, who included Mr G Scharneck, Rev R.D. Rasmus and Mr G.B. Roman, met with the Council to discuss sporting facilities for the 'coloured' residents in the Added-Areas which included Fairview (Fairview Ratepayers' Association, Annual Report: 1946). The report stated that there were very bright hopes that the recommendations of this deputation would be accepted by the Council and that soon Fairview would have sporting facilities (Ibid.). The Association predicted the likelihood that sporting fields for 'coloured' residents would be positioned East of 17<sup>th</sup> Avenue (Ibid.).

The various sports that eventually took place at those facilities played a big role in people's lives within Fairview. Winston Houlie spoke about the role of sports in his and his father's life and explained:

“My father he was [a] very keen and a sports fanatic. He use to play rugby, soccer, golf etcetera. Those years we use to play against people from Willowdene and people from Salisbury Park. I mean I was still young those years, but I can recall that my father was like a

fly half and he was like the main man. I think he use [to play] for Wanderers if I'm not mistaken. The Wanderers ... was the team you know that was from the rugby perspective. From the soccer there was a few teams in Fairview. The one was Stardrifts and the other one was Fairview Rovers and those were the two teams in Fairview. You know if you don't know those two teams in Fairview then obviously you didn't live in Fairview ... those were the days from the sports. Then my other uncle Johnny Houlie, he use to be a very keen golfer and I can remember from the end of 17th Avenue towards Walmer Downs are now, where the Word of Faith Church is, ...that use to be our golf course..., and the grass was like a half metre high and I can remember he still got... one of his father's golf pants, which was actually burned when they use to clean the golf course. What they did in those years we didn't [have] lawnmowers and weed eaters, and we use to burn the grass down... and I can remember the old man's pants caught the light you know” (WH, interview: 23 April 2013).

The rivalry between the two soccer teams that existed in Fairview, The Stardrifts and Fairview Rovers, was fondly remembered. Caroline Windvogel recalled that she was a “Rovers fan” and supported them every Saturday (CW, interview: 24 April 2013). On the other hand, Mr Kivedo indicated that he “grew up to be a Stardrifts supporter and use to play [for them]” (BK, interview: 2 July 2013). People from Port Elizabeth who were familiar with Fairview made mention that the soccer teams from Fairview took their sport very seriously. A former resident of South End noted that when you played a game of soccer against one of the Fairview teams, and the opposing team was about to win, the referee needed to make sure that their transport was ready before the game ended as Fairview supporters would not be happy with the result. Mr Kivedo expanded on these events:

“Sometimes the referee couldn't even afford to blow his time whistle on the field =, he first had to run to his car, and had to blow from [the] car and drive away. Because those people they didn't, the supporters they were not alone, they had either a couple of drinks too many and some will carry either a knife and that's a fact, or those '*pangas*' and they will chop it into those wooden frames of the soccer pole and then they threaten the goalie; 'you try to stop that ball'” (BK, interview: 2 July 2013).

Former residents also participated in sports at the schools they attended. Mrs Human indicated that the Moravian school offered sports like netball and they would play against the other schools within the neighbourhood such as Springfield Primary (EH, interview: 23 April: 2013). Ms Rose Houlie explained that she played netball and hockey for Springfield Primary as residents had to make do with what they had in order to keep themselves entertained (RH, interview: 24 April 2013). Sport was not only played through formal teams. Former residents mentioned that often residents played socially amongst each other in the neighbourhood. Mr Kivedo described these social sporting activities:

“In Fairview we had many activities. I myself I was a sports person we use to play rugby, soccer, cricket and the field of my father, or the yard of my father, belonged to everybody in the neighbourhood you can just come enjoy. We were like divided into blocks and that block is one big family and especially these social soccer matches, and then we had streets against streets, and the parents will turn up and it will be like a carnival atmosphere people selling oranges, coconut ice, fudge you name it” (BK, interview: 23 April 2013).

Some of the sports clubs, especially the soccer teams remained very active after people were forcibly moved. Winston Houlie stated that:

“When we moved to this side [Northern Areas]...I was involved with Stardrifts I also became a member and I proceeded to become a Stardrifts chairperson just because we had the love for soccer. Those years I wasn't really a keen soccer player but I was more on the rugby side, but I ended my days with Stardrifts as general secretary after I've been the chairman...I was also very fortunate to be involved with one of their fundraisings where we celebrated Stardrifts. I think they were 50 years old, and I was also instrumentally involved to do the organising and the theme for that evening was ‘Down Memory Lane: Oh what a night’ and we were fortunate to have all those old people also invited to that memorial occasion....All those old people they also attended that event...and then because of the golf history that our people also involved...we then founded the club in the Northern Areas of Port Elizabeth under the name of Fairview Golf Club, and that was in 1993 just prior to the new democracy...I was fortunate to be elected and still alive [was] the president of the club, and again we could invite all the ex-golfers of Fairview, Willowdene and interested golfers to participate and also to join the club. The club is very successful still” (WH, interview: 23 April 2013).

In addition to residents being talented and successful in the sports they played some also were described as being highly qualified professionals. As previously mentioned Fairview housed many respected teachers and priests many of whom were educated in Fairview, and eventually taught at the schools and worked in the churches within the neighbourhood. Many successful students emerged from Springfield Primary: “there are so many products of that Springfield School that excelled you know. Medical doctors came from there, lawyers came from there, politicians” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013). Mrs Jantjes was also became highly qualified and was one of the first females of colour in South Africa to receive a doctoral degree. In Standard six, when she had won a school scholarship, her career in teaching was inevitable (Ibid.). Her brother and aunts had also received school scholarships throughout their education (Ibid.). Mrs Jantjes explained that her father helped her study for the scholarship exam, and he was her biggest role model as he always encouraged her and her siblings to excel in different aspects of their lives (Ibid.). He always made sure that they were

exposed to books and taught them the rules of many sporting codes (Ibid.). She explained that in his everyday life her father led by example:

“My father taught us all these cards games and sports. We had golf clubs in the house, we had boxing gloves in the house we [were] use[d] to all these sports. My father....he taught us the code out of the code books he taught us the rules, like we could all umpire tennis even from a young age even though I couldn't play. I mean I couldn't play well I could hit certain strokes, but that was it, but we could all umpire you know because that is what my father taught us. My brother was as high as the wicket then he played cricket...soccer, my brother....was elected to Eastern Province soccer....you know there wasn't a sports that my father didn't know how to play, and you know he would practise what he preached. Like Christianity he practised it, he said don't shout at one another, respect one another, worship God in truth. He practised those things.....He taught by example you know, we were not allowed to shout at another, never allowed to swear you know, dance *ooh* now my sister could dance as well [as] him (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).

Mrs Jantjes' explained that her father, Mr Koeries, was also a good debater, and he with his fellow neighbours from Willow Road hosted debates especially around election time when the 'coloured' population were still allowed to vote prior to 1948. She explained the debates as follows:

“Voting time my father could debate, and with the principals of the schools and the other men. Voting time I'm telling there was a hush, there was excitement it was like Christmas. Now the debates use to go on in our house, in the Kingson's house, and the Roman's house, in Stoffberg's house, all that live in Willow Road. They all voted it was....long before '48 remember we came to live there '41. Voting time then the cars would come and....you know now that was the time of the United Party with Graaf. Graaf was the leader, Jan Smuts they adored Jan Smuts, but then Jan Smuts went to sell us out” (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).

Mrs Jantjes also spoke very highly of Mr G.B. Roman as a well-respected person from Fairview who had greatly influenced her love for English alongside her love for Mathematics which was a result of her father's influence. She explained Mr Roman's influence on her:

“Now this man Roman was from Grahamstown. He came to Fairview in a short pants to teach, he was the product of the English settlers, the British settlers that settled in Grahamstown....Now this man knew English grammar-that was my first in-depth study of English, I say there were different people that influenced me with English, and....English and Maths are my two favourite subjects, but eventually....later at high school when I was introduced to poetry especially...by Dennis Brutus I was blown away I couldn't get away

from English up till today. I mean I'm still on call at a language school, you know this man knew English grammar....He taught us things of English grammar that when I came to study at UWC [University of the Western Cape] did English 1, and we had many study sessions at this house and I would sometimes when we had small groups at home then I would sometimes tell these people something about grammar then they would say where do I hear that....Clauses, sentence construction, parts of speech you can't put anything aside he's a product of the British settlers. He brought that....thoroughness, handwriting thoroughness and so he taught us" (EJ, interview: 14 February 2013).

Mrs Jantjes memories of her father and Mr G.B. Roman, demonstrate that former residents continue to have a high regard for their fellow former neighbours. Residents were remembered for belonging to respected families who excelled in different aspects of their lives. They were remembered for being very knowledgeable and talented in their sports, education, and professions and within the activities that constituted their everyday lives.

### *Conclusion*

The oral histories, family photographs alongside archival material presented above, continue to present memories of Fairview and its former residents that reveal more than its history of dispossession. On the contrary, Fairview is presented as a neighbourhood that housed families for many generations who shared close connections and celebrated special occasions together. The strong bond experienced amongst families extended to friends and neighbours as fellow residents of Fairview are often remembered as a 'big family'. Multi-layered community networks extended beyond residents sharing a residential space as they were a part of each other's business, religious and social circles. This allowed a strong sense of familiarity to characterise the relationships between residents and create a diverse but close-knit community. Although Fairview is acknowledged to have dealt with particular community issues, but a mutual form of respect existed amongst residents as fellow neighbours were kept in high regard, and remembered as talented individuals who excelled within sports, schools and their professions. These narratives about Fairview remain critical to how former residents remember their former neighbourhood. Then allow for a history that is about more than the traumatic experience of Group Areas removals.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **Conclusion**

BK: ...We also knew it [The Group Areas Act] was going [to] hit us ....I don't want to dwell now on that.... because, it's not about Verwoed and his henchmen it's about Fairview and how....we enjoyed Fairview in our perception” (BK, interview: 23 April: 2013).

#### *Introduction*

The forced removal of families from Fairview, and its subsequent razing of this area to the ground, groups the neighbourhood together with places in South African in which The Group Areas Act and its destruction were imposed. In this thesis I focus in particular on personal memories of this traumatic experience communicated through oral histories, familial images and memory maps together with archival material and media and literary representations. With these materials I aim to demonstrate that recovering Fairview is about more than remembering an Apartheid loss by having highlighted the intimate memories and images that expose the rich personal histories, relationships of community and neighbourliness that were built and nurtured around long-standing institutions, and which continue to be rooted in this particular place, despite its destruction. I build on an important body of work that focuses on place-making and the experiences of residents within neighbourhoods targeted by forced relocation (O' Connell 2012, Field 2012, Bickford-Smith et al 2001, Jeppie and Soudien 1990). These materials highlight personal stories of how Apartheid era legislation and its implementation affected neighbourhoods and their residents. But as importantly, as Mr Kivedo emphasises above, these narratives recall and document the place itself and the histories, practices and memories that shaped it. Prior to the research, I was filled with feelings of uncertainty about how former residents of Fairview would react to my request to recall the history of dispossession. I anticipated that memories about that period would not be very pleasant since former residents had resided under and borne the brunt of dispossession, which had been organised by successive regimes based on oppressive and racist ideals. I assumed that the classification as 'non-white' and subordinate under Apartheid, constantly and directly affected peoples' daily lives negatively. More particularly, as a result of the Group Areas Act and the consequent forced removals, I had expected the reimagining of Fairview to be largely comprised of traumatic memories of this experience of forced relocation. Instead, what emerged in interconnected ways and alongside the 'dispossession' narrative, were insights which focused on the neighbourhood and its residents. This chapter is the conclusion of the thesis which draws together the evidence of the research.



Personal memories, familial images and memory maps emphasised the ways in which former residents enjoyed and appreciated Fairview. As demonstrated in the chapters five and six, it is these views that are central to how former residents remember Fairview as a set of neighbourhood narratives that enrich how the Apartheid past is remembered. The narratives provide glimpses into the lives and experiences that shaped this now destroyed place. Rather than understanding Fairview as solely a neighbourhood razed to the ground, the research reveals its complex, diverse and unique attributes. These texture how the narrative of Apartheid Group Areas removals is presented. The recovery of Fairview through these narratives echo research on other similar neighbourhoods, for example, the neighbouring suburb of South End, Port Elizabeth. This research presents a story that on one level is “too painful to recount” and on another level presents “the camaraderie, the community spirit, the happy times” (Du Pré, 1997: v).

Fairview was targeted by the Group Areas Act due to the neighbourhood’s racially diverse population at a time when the Apartheid state implemented racial categories and enforced residential segregation. In addition, Fairview’s mixed population contained a large proportion of ‘coloured’ residents who lived in close proximity to neighbourhoods which consisted of only ‘white’ residents. The neighbouring residents expressed fears that the presence of Fairview and its residents were a threat to their way of life. Consequently, families from Fairview were displaced from their homes, and from a neighbourhood in which they had for generations established their lives.

The decision for Fairview to be zoned a ‘white’ group area was met with confusion as the neighbourhood was envisioned by former residents to have a prosperous future. Over a period of 14 years the Apartheid state and its destructive legislation destroyed well-established community networks and separated families, friends and neighbours and dismantled and eventually flattened a large portion of the neighbourhood to the ground. Families experienced heartache and pain as they were forced to uproot their lives and move to new homes and surroundings situated far from their places of employment, education, religion and entertainment, and far from what they knew. Families had a difficult time accepting that they had to leave. They also experienced difficulty adjusting to their new neighbourhood as their lives had been socially, emotionally, physically and financially dislocated in the process of removal.

In chapter five, rather than drawing attention to the destructive process of the Group Areas removals, personal reflections alongside family photographs and memory maps are presented to reveal Fairview’s tranquil environment. These memories of beautiful trees, various flowers and vegetation sit in contrast with the barren northern areas, the neighbourhoods to which residents were moved. Fairview’s environment was reflected in the fondly remembered street names, and on occasion used to

decorate the various church buildings, many of which were situated in the main street of Willow Road.

Chapter six shows how, community life was nurtured within these spaces as former residents recalled their social lives revolving around church activities that, for instance, included being part of church brigades, choirs, lively bazaars and annual festivals offered by the various denominations. In addition, churches in Fairview were responsible for providing good education to the children during their early years of learning. Despite being described as a slum and a ‘peri-urban’ neighbourhood Fairview housed many facilities which were a central part of residents’ lives and experiences. These included community shops, bioscopes, and a multiplicity of sports offered formally by schools and clubs and also played informally, both producing talented and well-supported athletes. Archival material revealed that within Fairview there was an attempt to produce a well-run and highly respected community evident through the presence of the Fairview Ratepayer’s Association, who consisted of a group of residents which acted as a medium of communication between the residents of Fairview and the local Walmer Council. The Association’s archival records reflect that they played a role in making sure Fairview had access to various resources, and was a pleasant and safe environment to reside in.

At the heart of these narratives and reflections were relationships that existed between residents and characterised a sense of community spirit, revolving around familiarity and neighbourliness celebrated in a diverse but close-knit community. Relationships were built around multi-faceted networks that extended beyond sharing a residential space. Often remembered as a ‘big family’, residents and neighbours recalled the community shop owners, teachers, doctors, priests, and bus drivers, the individuals whom contributed to the familiar feel of these long-standing services and institutions. The nature of the relationships that existed between neighbours and residents is valued within former residents’ memories and despite the neighbourhood’s complex and diverse character the relationships that existed between residents are remembered for containing a form of mutual respect. Residents were remembered as talented individuals who lived respected lives and excelled within various aspects including their education, musically, within sports and their various professions. Recovering how Fairview continues to be reimagined through family and community memories that include oral histories, family photographs, memory maps together with archival and media representations provides glimpses into not only the experience of Group Areas removals but also into narratives that allowed its history to move beyond the trauma and dispossession.

#### *Beyond trauma and dispossession: Recovering Fairview*

Former residents’ memories of being forcibly removed revealed the disruptive and violent nature of Group Areas removals and the destruction of a neighbourhood. However, much like the work that has captured and documented experiences of dispossession of other affected neighbourhoods, this painful

story was not the only narrative that emerged. Fairview was also reimagined as a place wherein generations of families grew up who were able to establish respectable lives, and build lasting relationships that were nurtured within various networks and institutions. These revealed intimate moments expressed in various forms of place-making, and which remind us that remembering Fairview encompasses more than the destruction it endured.

Fairview is reimagined as a neighbourhood that continues to be an important part of former residents' lives. For the most part, its recovery is comprised of seemingly 'ordinary' moments that rarely make direct reference to the oppressive contexts in which residents lived. The presence of the Apartheid state and its racist measures is interwoven within narratives about the everyday, which includes recollections about long-lasting and familiar community institutions, various sports activities, visits to the bioscope, and social dances hosted by fellow neighbours. These representations of the past echo Stevens and Sullivan (2010) who state that Apartheid was not only a system of interconnected social, political and economic structures that oppressed, but the regime also reconstituted itself through everyday experiences of those who had lived under its rule (2010: 414, 415). This means that narratives reflecting on Apartheid frequently have an autobiographical element, revealing insights into the daily workings of Apartheid at these levels (ibid: 415). In addition, similar to the family albums of former residents of District Six found by O' Connell (2012), the family photographs that depicted moments of the lives former residents of Fairview did not contain any traces of the oppressive times. They instead were images that depicted birthday celebrations, special church events, family portraits, and 'ordinary' images of Fairview and its surroundings, asserting identities at odds with what the Apartheid state dictated they should be. The recovery of Fairview presents narratives and images which highlight that even while former residents resided under difficult times their lives were filled with special relationships and 'ordinary' moments which now produce meaningful memories. These personal experiences of residing under Apartheid are diverse and, as Nieftagodien suggests, are often obscured by the 'grand' narratives used in the post-apartheid production of South Africa's history resulting in the omission of alternatives, possibilities and multiple voices of the past (2010: 426, cited in Stevens and Sullivan). Nieftagodien argues that personal accounts are important as they can become a space in which 'grand' narratives that seem to cohere histories in neat, linear and inevitably predictable ways are undermined (Ibid.). Similarly, by acknowledging that not all 'ordinary' understandings of the past are marked by doom and gloom, Dlamini demonstrates problematic elements of the 'master' narrative of Apartheid and its stories of 'victims' experiences of the past marked by dispossession. In not moving beyond its spectacular forms, he suggests we can be blind to the complexities and rich nuances that were present within the lives of 'non-white' South Africans during that time (2009: 15, 18, 19). Through examining how we might understand the Palestinian political moment through the everyday lives of children, Marshall argues that an over-reliance on the language of trauma risks infantilising subjects, and limiting their political subjectivity to that of child-

like victims (2013: 55). Moreover while stories of suffering speak truths about people's lives under occupation, a focus on injury alone presents an impoverished view of life (Ibid.). In this thesis the recovery of Fairview and the story it presents builds on this body of work.

The importance of documenting the 'grand' narrative of Apartheid through the experience of Group Areas removals and its violence is acknowledged, however, at the same time it is important to bring forth community and family histories that demonstrate how the Apartheid state reconstituted itself through former residents' everyday lives. These interconnected narratives allow Fairview to recuperate its own story of a neighbourhood and its residents no longer there, and demonstrates that former residents did not always experience Apartheid as an overarching presence. Memories of life in Fairview at that time were not all unpleasant, and more particularly the memory of Fairview was not solely shaped by the trauma and dispossession it experienced. These recuperated histories reveal intimate moments that stand in contrast to the images and narratives that usually depict the forced removals process. As O' Connell explains, these narratives and images are usually composed with an inherently heightened sense of drama, recognisable as they are found within museum archives, university libraries, featured in coffee table books and on postcards marketed for tourists (2012: 76). On the other hand, these intimate memories disrupt the idea that the past experiences of people who were displaced from a neighbourhood under Apartheid are only marked by their structural dispossession, and highlight that their lives contained more.

#### *Remembering the intimate: views of everyday life*

Fairview, for the most part, was reimagined through memories that revealed intimate moments. They provided glimpses into former residents' everyday experiences and the relationships that existed amongst neighbours, while family photographs present insights into the special moments amongst families and friends. By solely focussing on the spectacular nature of Apartheid Ndebele reminds us, results in the omission of details (1986: 149, 152). Therefore rediscovering the 'ordinary' is important as it enriches understandings of Apartheid and how it is remembered (Ibid.). These memories highlight that the South African context at the time was multifaceted and comprehensive, and cannot be reduced to a single and simple formation (ibid: 156). The memory of Fairview and its residents is therefore represented by the experiences of Group Areas removals, but also through the intimate views of 'everyday' life. In this way, former residents bring forth their personal experiences that disrupt and provide a nuanced understanding to how a neighbourhood and its residents 'wounded' by structural dispossession would be 'normally' understood.

Field asserts that the experience of remembering the past can be an emotionally meaningful task on a personal level, and how people choose to remember their lives and the feelings and meaning invested in particular events should be considered important (2001: 130). The inclusion of family and

community histories expanded the exploration of and allowed the lived experiences of former residents to be part of shaping how it is reimagined. Initially it would have been easy to reduce the recovery of Fairview to a story about ‘middle class’ ‘coloured’ identities affected by the structural violence enacted by the Apartheid state. However, by recuperating oral histories, family photographs and constructing memory maps, this simplification was avoided. These narratives and images reveal the lives and relationships that were lived and nurtured in this place. Although they were made precarious through dispossession, they remain critical today. If this work had only focussed on presenting the trauma, the narratives and images which have endured would not have been exposed. Former residents of Fairview, through various forms of place-making, provided views of ‘everyday’ life that enriched the memory of Fairview, and revealed insights into the workings of a neighbourhood. Much like the former residents of El Cartucho in Till’s (2012) analysis of memory-work, the oral histories, family photographs and memory maps collected and presented here, challenge the notion of displaced people as being invisible. Seemingly ‘ordinary’ moments provide glimpses that demonstrate that a neighbourhood now razed to the ground was once inhabited with what is described as respected lives.

According to O’ Connell by looking towards the experiences, sounds and texts of the oppressed not only do they reveal intimate moments that move beyond reducing their lives and memories to dispossession and suffering, but they force us to consider modes of survival by those who were dominated and how they constructed human worlds for themselves (2012: 104). Similarly, in the life stories of Windermere these “provide insights into how people developed their survival strategies and their ways of living with the emotional wounds inflicted by apartheid” (Field, 2001: 120). O’ Connell refers to a particular series of street photographs called *Movie Snaps* that depict former residents of District Six passing by within the city centre of Cape Town (ibid, 60, 65). She acknowledges that these images haunted her as she was drawn to the fact that people whose presence was restricted in the city would be there, and they would bring their offspring (Ibid.). The *Movie Snaps* images indicated a refusal of victimhood by oppressed subjects as a performance of resistance can be seen in their firm gaze, confident movement and the meticulous attention paid to their attire (ibid: 70). They escape the subjugating and dominant images that pervade that of the oppressed, and that of the victim (Ibid.). While these images appear to represent and resemble images of an everyday practice of going to town, the fact that they were taken in a space and time where movements and bodies were restricted, makes them inherently different and contradictory (Ibid.). They resist pictures that usually depict this period and the way of life for those categorised ‘non-white’ (ibid: 71). The images therefore critique the narrative of lives of oppression and intervene in the classification and subjugation of bodies and lives legislated as non-human (Ibid.).

Similarly, the narratives and images that present former residents building and nurturing a strong sense of religion, excelling within various aspects of life, and actively trying to produce a safe and pleasant environment do the same for the lives that were lived in Fairview. These memories represent moments wherein former residents constructed worlds for themselves wherein they were human. In addition, they challenge how we would understand and remember a place affected by Group Areas removals, and the experiences of the people who resided within. In parallel to the exploration of narratives of beauty performed within the everyday lives of Palestinian refugee children (Marshall, 2013) we witness the language of trauma and suffering that marks these neighbourhoods and their residents being transformed. Following Lombard's (2014) assertion intimate moments expressed through forms of place-making enable renewed understandings of place. Thus Fairview is acknowledged as 'ordinary', complex, diverse and creative rather than by the categories that ignore how the lives, relationships and institutions filled and shaped it. As Till (2012) states it is important to not discard these lived realities, emotions and perceptions as ill-informed and subjective because they highlight the importance of place in societies that have experienced extreme forms of violence and allow our understandings of them to include other imaginaries. In the context of Fairview these imaginaries revealed by family and community histories enrich its memory, and intervene in the representation of the former residents as mere victims of the Apartheid regime.

*Intimate archives: Recuperating Fairview through memories, photographs, memory maps*

By recovering community and family histories comprised of life stories, family photographs, and memory maps alongside archival and media representations of Fairview, we recuperate an intimate archive and enrich, expand and provide texture to the 'grand' narratives of Apartheid. This allows the lives, relationships and institutions that were and still are embedded within Fairview to shape how it is remembered. This brings forth other imaginaries that depict a neighbourhood and its residents as more than only victims of the Apartheid regime. Exposed are moments wherein former residents constructed worlds wherein they were human and which serve to re-shape Fairview as an 'ordinary' neighbourhood with its own complexities and diversities. Through this thesis I present this intimate archive and bring it into conversation with the already existing archive of Apartheid, and more particularly the Group Areas removals, and how it is remembered.

The character of the archive in post-Apartheid South Africa continues to be deeply political and set with colonial and Apartheid biases. This has sparked an ongoing and expanding debate concerned with how knowledge is produced and more particularly knowledge of the past in an attempt to refigure the archive. In response to overcome some of the biases within the official record, people have sought to recover and document the lives and voices of ordinary people but find scant evidence in the government files. O'Connell suggests that for the archive to refigure itself it needs to look

beyond and find the texts, experiences and sounds of those that belong to the bodies which were recently deemed inferior (2012: 88). Jeppie and Soudien claim that the traditional sources of writing are radically insufficient and that it is necessary to capture a more balanced view of the past that considers the diversity of lifestyles, experiences and consciousness that existed in South Africa at the time (1990: 15). The recovery of Fairview is a modest effort to bring forth the memory of a place and the experiences of its residents that has not been entirely captured and documented before. It mirrors research that has studied neighbourhoods that have also been victims of the Apartheid Group Areas Act and its destruction. It therefore allows the former residents to present their experiences and what for them constituted life at the time. They require a renunciation of familiar narratives and contexts and demonstrate that the South African past must make room for alternative visions no matter how 'ordinary' and 'everyday' they seem. Although the intimate and 'interiority' of the lives of the oppressed do not seem extraordinary and do not overly depict oppression, the 'ordinary' moments in these lives in a racially oppressive time makes them spectacular (O' Connell, 2012: 77).

This work is even more critical in the present context. Although left barren and empty for decades, in the past five years, the landscape of post-apartheid Fairview has been remade around consumption, business parks, a racecourse and a 'high-end' neighbourhood, despite ongoing land restitution. This redevelopment has no connection to the Fairview former residents remember residing in, or the remains of this lost neighbourhood in place of which new developments are built. The recovery of Fairview, in this context, highlights the histories that existed prior to the recent developments are important to reveal as the physical space changes throughout time. For Till, by bringing forth place-based experiences of inhabitants, a deeper appreciation is produced of the cultural identities, dynamics of the everyday and the symbolic worlds that existed before (2012: 3). She argues that this enables more ethical forms of urban change (Ibid.). Fairview's intimate archive not only assists in expanding how the archive of Apartheid and more particularly how the experience of Group Areas removals is remembered, but also asks us to re-consider this past in the present. The narrative and images which are presented and what they reveal are central to thinking about the erasures that are ongoing in our cities. In this case places that at one stage were filled with generations of families living established and respected lives built on lasting relationships that were nurtured around community networks and institutions are remembered.

### *Conclusion*

To conclude, I would like to return to Samuel Houlie's request to produce a historical record of Fairview, which initiated this research and made it possible. His priority was the production of an archive to recover this history 'factually', and to supplement, support and anchor in 'facts' the 'fuzzy' memories of his family and former neighbours; a notion that in interesting and powerful ways has

come to mark 'everyday' views about the production of knowledge about the past. In such views it is often assumed that history is built from facts that are able to provide us with a chronological retelling of events, and personal representations are only viewed as playing a supporting role. However, research that focuses on recuperating the intimate and on recovering places in their fullness disrupts this understanding. An important and expanding body of work today repositions the 'formal' and most recognisable institutions of memory, which in turn broaden the archive's character (O'Connell 2012, Hamilton et al 2002). This body of scholarship demonstrates that there are various forms of knowing and understanding the past other than through 'official' written records. By representing these forms of knowing history is intimately inscribed with 'ordinary' people's lives and bodies. Usually considered to present ordinary, insignificant and mundane contributions these should not be dismissed, instead they need to be included as they offer valuable lessons. The literature highlights that the past is something that should not be stored away, as it remains a part of the present and future, and needs to be reconsidered with the passing of time. They also demonstrate that multiple versions of the past can exist by establishing that peoples' lives are filled with complex and diverse experiences. These are often obscured when we only focus on the 'grand' narratives of history, ultimately denying people the ability to define their own. This thesis contributes to this broader project.

In sum, with particular reference to Fairview and other neighbourhoods in which the Group Areas Act and its destruction were imposed, memories of family and community have recuperated histories beyond the structural violence of forced removals. They have represented alongside the narrative of the former, spaces that were and still continue to be embedded with meaningful relationships and fond memories that were nurtured around enduring community institutions. These highlight the importance of considering personal reflections communicated through oral histories, family photographs, memory maps and artistic and activist representations, which in this thesis, I bring together with other works which demonstrate that in conversation with the archive of Apartheid these historical elements enrich how a part of our past is remembered. They remind us that this period of South African history is not something to be stored away, as it contains the opportunity to evolve and to produce history that has the potential to be more democratic and inclusive.



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